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OUTLINES

OF THE

HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

BY

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PREFACE.

IN the following pages an attempt is made to give some idea of the conditions under which language-material was gradually accumulated, was sifted and shaped, before the result was attained which we see in the present speech of England. It is an attempt to give such a representation of a very complicated subject as is possible by tracing merely its outlines. These, however, if they are properly distinguished, may at least suggest the claims to consideration which the subject can make, claims that can be properly appreciated only when the outlines are filled in. And surely one such claim is that the study of English affords the opportunity for a varied mental training. For to realize the language of a people at any time in their history would be to realize their life at that time; it is in their words that their thoughts remain embodied, and really to understand their words we must feel as they felt. To follow a language completely throughout its gradual development would be to follow all phases in the changing life of those who spoke it; and only as the powers of the imagination are

cultivated is progress made towards this ideal. A language, again, may be regarded as a living organism, ever undergoing changes, of which some, though they may be vital, yet do not affect its outward form—for words may keep their form, but change their meaning; while others are visible, for words may be lost or gained, or re-shaped, or re-arranged. And here there is abundant opportunity for training the faculty of observation. Moreover no change in this organism is without a cause. Language takes the shape which its speakers choose to give it; and in attempting to account for changes that result from influences, which must be determined, operating upon the speakers, who are the agents in effecting change, and whose condition must be realized, there is ample scope for the exercise of the reasoning faculty. Looked at, too, from the merely physical side, language is educational. For it is the product of a machine, whose mechanism and working must be observed; a machine which is incorporated with the operator, and whose operation at once responds to that which affects him. It may be noted, further, that the study of English is of interest and profit, not only because much of the material that has to be observed is literature of the noblest kind, but also because the student may carry on his studies among the homelier varieties of speech, which are to be found still living in all parts of the country. It is a study that offers a wide field in which to exercise the faculties of the mind, and which abounds with objects of interest on which to exercise them.

If the present sketch can suggest to a student the interest which belongs to the history of the language, or can help one

who feels that interest, by providing the outlines which further work of his own may enable him to fill in, it will have been worth making. For hitherto our vulgar tongue has scarcely received the consideration it deserves; and not altogether without excuse would those in England be, who should sympathize with the great Italian, when he speaks of the esteem in which by some was held the vulgar tongue he himself used. Dante, denouncing the 'ill-conditioned men of Italy that scorned their own vulgar tongue,' says: 'Forasmuch as with that measure a man measures himself he measures the things that are his, it befalls that to the magnanimous his own things ever appear better than they are, those of others less good; the pusillanimous ever thinks his own things worth little, those of others much. Whence many through this baseness scorn their proper vulgar tongue, and esteem that of others; and all such as these are the abominable caitiffs of Italy, that hold of no account this noble vulgar tongue.'

English, quite as much as the Italian of Dante, deserves to be called 'a noble vulgar tongue,' and if in this little book its history is not shewn to be a subject which will repay the labours of the student, the failure is certainly not to be laid to the charge of the subject.

T. N. T.

November, 1900.

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OUTLINES OF THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

CHAPTER I.

The history of a language a record of change—self-adjusting character of language—inevitability of change—views of some English writers on the possibility of arresting change—different kinds of change illustrated—connection between names and things—illustrations from English—metaphorical language—development of that part of the vocabulary which expresses abstract ideas—change of form in words—general purpose of the chapter.

1. With the speech we use it is somewhat as with the land we live in—familiarity with an object, our idea of which is not disturbed by the consciousness of rapid or extensive change, makes us unapt to notice the evidence that bears witness to the conditions under which each has come to take the familiar form. Examination of the country, however, leads to the discovery of a story of extreme interest, that tells of various change, of violent disturbance or of gradual modification, of forces which have left their enduring impressions to be the witnesses of their existence—a story which finds confirmation and illustration from comparison of our own with other countries. A like story, not less interesting, belongs to the speech—a story of continuous change under influences of varying intensity; and as one story tells how a country became the

Language an implement which undergoes continuous modification.

fitting home of those who live in it, so the other tells how the speech became the fitting implement of those who use it. It is an implement, however, we learn to use so early, that later we are unconscious that there was any difficulty in the learning; and we are as apt to forget that this so easily acquired language is the outcome of long ages of development, as to ignore the varied story of the ground on which we tread.

But if we come to think a little of our implement we shall find it to be an instance of wonderful continuous self-adjustment. Take the main elements of modern English, the material which is drawn from Old English, Latin and Greek; even if we go no further back than historic times in the case of each, yet the use of such material implies that the same material that could serve the purpose of language for those who lived under the conditions which belonged to the old Englishman, the Latin and the Greek, can still serve that purpose for those who live under the widely different conditions of modern England. The different life has not necessitated the creation of new material, it has needed merely the adaptation of the old. But, further, behind historic times lie others of yet simpler life, when the same process of adaptation was going on; and taking historic and prehistoric times together we get the wonderful development which produced from language material that served the purpose of simplest life, the main part of a speech that meets the needs of modern England.

A special case in the story of development, that should perhaps be noticed, is suggested by the reference to Old English and Latin and Greek. In very many instances material that has been shaped elsewhere has been transferred to England; words that had got their force and form from use by Latin or Greek started on a new course among new surroundings. But, from the point of view of the continuous development we are trying to consider, it is still old material we have to deal with, not a new creation, as much as if we were dealing with native English words. In *steam-engine* and *telegraph* Old English,

Latin and Greek are represented, but each form is in the same way a case of the application of old material to new uses.

2. But though material which is in use at one time may still be used with more or less modification at a later, yet this continued life does not belong to all words; and this change in the direction of loss as well as the other, in the direction of modification, follows necessarily from the nature of the work required of language. Language is the expression of thought; that with which the mind can concern itself needs words to express it. A people's language must be in proportion to their knowledge; with changed conditions must come corresponding change in language. Old material, if retained, must often adapt itself to new uses, while in other cases that which is denoted by a word either no longer remains an object for the mind to consider, or another word is chosen to denote it: in either case there is loss of old material. And here it may be not uninteresting to notice how far the irresistible and uncontrollable character of change in language has been appreciated by some who have had occasion to observe the effects of that change. Johnson in the preface to his Dictionary confesses that he had for a while flattered himself with the hope that his work 'should fix our language, and put a stop to those alterations which time and chance have hitherto been suffered to make in it without opposition.' But further experience brought him to the conclusion that with justice would 'the lexicographer be derided, who, being able to produce no example of a nation that has preserved their words and phrases from mutability, shall imagine that his dictionary can secure his language from corruption and decay, that it is in his power to change sublunary nature, and clear the world at once from folly, vanity, and affectation.' Somewhat earlier Swift had written 'A proposal for correcting, improving, and ascertaining the English tongue, in a letter to the Lord High Treasurer'; in this he says, 'What I have most at heart is, that some

Modification in language inevitable: views on this point of Johnson, Swift, Puttenham.

method should be thought on for ascertaining and fixing our language for ever after such alterations are made in it as shall be thought requisite.' The true state of the case had been realised by a yet earlier writer, Puttenham, who in his *Arte of English Poesie* (1589) concludes a chapter on language by this rendering of some lines of Horace:

> Many a word yfalne shall eft arise,
> And such as now bene held in hiest prise
> Will fall as fast, when use and custom will,
> Onely umpiers of speach, for force and skill.

The community, not the individual, decides what words shall be correct: illustrations of this point.

3. And of the inability of the individual to anticipate or control the verdict of these 'onely umpiers' the same chapter gives examples. The writer, when considering the appropriateness of some of the newer words he has used, looks with as much favour upon *placation* and *assubtiling*, as upon *function* and *refining*; while on the other hand *audacious*, *egregious* and *compatible*, equally with *facundity*, *implete* and *attemptat*, it is admitted, are 'not so well to be allowed of us.' Swift, too, will illustrate the same point by his comment upon words that now are generally accepted. In 'A letter to a young clergyman' he says, 'I defy the greatest divine to produce any law either of God or man, which oblīges me to comprehend the meaning of *omniscience*, *omnipresence*, *ubiquity*, *attribute*, *beatific vision*, with a thousand others so frequent in pulpits, any more than that of *eccentric*, *idiosyncrasy*, *entity* and the like.' On words of another class Swift's great contemporary, Addison, looked with a disfavour which has not in all cases been felt by later times. Thanks to the wars, foreign words were coming in to the language, and, to judge by No. CLXV. of the *Spectator*, Addison's vote was given against *morass*, *reconnoitre*, *defile*, *marauding*, *army corps*, *gasconade*, *carte blanche*; but time has shewn that he voted with the minority. And that the individual is as powerless to prolong the life of the old or to recover the

lost, as to prevent the introduction of the new, may be seen in the case of Spenser, of whom Ben Jonson in his *Discoveries* declared, and use in later times has practically justified the statement, that 'Spenser, in affecting the ancients, writ no language.'

What has just been said may suggest that change in the vocabulary, whether in the direction of gain or of loss, is determined as it were by an unconscious plébiscite. Words, whether old or new, are always liable to challenge; with changed conditions of life it may be a question whether a word be any longer necessary, and where a new word presents itself it may be a question whether it be the fittest for the work. '*Politien*,' says Puttenham in the previously quoted chapter, 'at this day usuall in Court, and with all good secretaries: and cannot find an English word to match him': the word is presented, is tried, is not without merit in some eyes, but the vote is given against it, and it disappears.

4. This change by way of gain or loss may be very abundantly illustrated in the case of English. To the instances already given may be added others, some of which may perhaps be of service in throwing light upon the progress of language in prehistoric times. Consider for example the revolution involved in the acceptance of Christianity by the English. Words connected with their earlier form of faith disappeared; the Gothic *gudja* and the Icelandic *goði* are native words for priest, but no corresponding form remains in English. The names of the gods, Tiw, Woden, Thunor were lost, though here we have a case in which, as it were, fossil remains can bear witness to the earlier living forms, for the names of the days of the week remained in Christian times. Take a pursuit that has been followed from earliest till latest times, but under ever varying conditions—that of war; the vocabulary of its terms has been continually diminishing and enlarging, as one method of warfare is supplanted by another; the earlier weapons are

Modification by gain or loss of words: (1) as a result of modification in knowledge.

to be found only in a museum, and their names must be looked for in a dictionary of archaic words. Science, too, has changed; the terms of the chemist take the place of those of the alchemist, whose vocabulary becomes obsolete, as anyone may see who will read Ben Jonson's play.

(2) as a result of competition between words of like meaning.

But loss is not due alone to the fact that ideas no longer need to be expressed, or gain alone to the fact that new ideas need expression. There may be competition between words that are practically equivalent, and this was often the case, as we shall see later, after the Norman Conquest, when those who had been called Angel-*þēod* came under the influence of a speech which was to supply material for their later appellation—the English *people*. But the same occurs with English words; the old *þā* dies out, and *þonne* (then) does its work; *mid* in the same way yields to *with*; *sooth* almost entirely disappears, its place being taken by *true*; except as a dialect form *hēo* (Lancashire *hoo*) is ousted by *she*; and in the declension of the same pronoun the whole plural (*hī, hiera, him*) has been given up in favour of the demonstrative *they, their, them*. The two last changes may perhaps be taken as suggestive of selection in much earlier times, when we note that of a pronoun so common in English as is *he*, so little use is made by German, that the form *heute* is almost the only instance of its occurrence.

Modification by alteration of meaning: the relation between words and things.

5. From adaptation by means of loss or gain we may turn to another case, that in which the material of language is preserved, but with altered value. And the possibility of such adaptation depends upon the character of the connection between a word and that which the word denotes. In its origin a word is a symbol which, being expressive of what is considered the main attribute of some thing, will serve to denote that thing. For instance (taking for granted a not quite certain etymology), the distinctive attribute of one of the heavenly bodies seems to have been for our forefathers that

it enabled them to measure time, and the word they used to mark it—its name—was *moon*. But things may have many attributes, and not all people are equally impressed by each, so that with different people the same thing will have different names. The forefathers of the Latin race seem to have been most impressed by the brilliancy of the same heavenly body, and this brightness determines their name, *lu(c)na*. It is the same process in each case; the selection of an attribute, and then the application of some form expressive of such attribute to serve as a name for the thing. Now consider the case of a word that has so arisen. The object to which it belongs, if it still remains for the users of the word to exercise their minds on, may present itself to them in a very different light from that in which it shewed itself to the originators of the word; just as in earlier times it may have struck different people differently (cf. *moon* and *luna* above). For us the moon is not specially the measurer of time; it is rather as the earth's attendant that we think of it, and so to us the *moon* suggests a different idea; so much so that we can use it of a body which stands to another in a relation like that of the moon to the earth; we can speak of Jupiter's *moons*, though in this case the original idea of measuring time has no place. The connection between word and thing is such, that it does not restrict to the latter the application of the former. And this naturally. For consider how we get at the meaning of a word; it is in the end a matter of inference; a word is used, we note with more or less accuracy the circumstances in which it is used, and thence infer the meaning. A word is a ticket that is not indissolubly and exclusively the property of the thing it may once have marked. If the first naming of a thing may be compared with the marking of it by a ticket denoting its main attribute, the later history of the word may be compared with the transference of that ticket to another object, which has some attribute in common with the first, and its use to mark the new object; and the transference may go on

indefinitely. Our inference of the meaning of a word is the assumption that the ticket is to mark a certain attribute, and where that attribute exists, there we use our ticket. But it may very well happen that we are thinking of a very different attribute from that which was intended at an earlier time, and thus the use of the ticket is changed, i.e. the word has changed its meaning. It will be seen how important to the economical development of language is (to continue the figure) this ready transference of tickets, by which old tickets may be used for new objects, instead of making new ones.

Illustrations of § 5. Knight, knave,

6. In illustration of what has just been said, a few common English words may be considered. In the oldest English *knight* and *knave* (the old forms are *cniht* and *cnapa*) could be used with much the same meaning. Thus those whom Ælfric in his treatise on the New Testament speaks of as 'iunge cnihtas,' he calls 'cnapan' directly afterwards; and in Matt. xii. 18, where the West-Saxon translator renders *puer* by *cnapa*, the Northumbrian gloss has *cnæht*: Ine's laws speak of a ten-year-old *cniht*; in the metrical paraphrase of Genesis, the angel in restraining Abraham from the sacrifice of Isaac is made to say: 'Þū cwicne ābregd *cniht* of āde'; while in the prose translation of the passage telling of Hagar and her child in the wilderness, Ishmael is called *cnapa*, and the same word is used in speaking of Joseph when he is cast into the pit. The original idea in the case of each word seems to be that of youth. But youth is a time of subordination, of service, and already in the oldest English the words are used of attendants or servants, without necessarily implying youth. Thus in Gen. xxiv. 65 *cniht* is used of one described in *v.* 2 as *servus senior*; and in the translation of Boethius, Ulysses' followers are spoken of as *cnihtas ealde ge giunge* (*Met.* 26, 85); in Luke xii. 45 *percutere pueros et ancillas* is translated 'bēatan þā *cnihtas* and þīnena,' and in Gen. xxii. 5 Abraham's two servants are called *cnapan*. Now two directions in which the idea of service might develop

are suggested by special senses, military and domestic, of our word service—*the service* has the one, *to be in service* has the other. The former idea became associated with *cniht* (Ælfric translates 'non sine causa portat *miles* gladium' by 'Ne byrð nā se *cniht* būtan intingan his swurd'), the latter with *cnapa*. But military matters changed with the coming of the Normans. Apparently the English made little use of cavalry. In the poem on the battle of Maldon (991) we are told that the English leader made his men leave their horses, and he himself, after drawing up his forces, dismounted. And the A.-S. Chronicle (1055) gives as a reason for the ill success of the English, under the leadership of the Norman Raulf, in a fight with the Welsh, 'they were on horses.' This method of warfare, however, became familiar after the Norman Conquest; accordingly we find from Layamon (c. 1200) that the *cniht* was becoming a horseman, *eques* rather than *miles*:

> cnihtes....
> mid wepnen and mid *horsen*,
> swa behoueth to *cnihtes*. III. 6.

But not every mounted soldier was to be a *cniht*, any more than every such is to be accounted among a nation's chivalry. The knight came to be the soldier of distinguished bravery, who received his title for his prowess. The word came to be a military title. But it does not remain with this limitation; the title was conferred on other grounds. Sir Andrew Aguecheek was a knight 'dubb'd with unhatch'd rapier, and on carpet consideration'; and, thanks to the way in which the title was conferred, it ran some risk of losing its honourable character. The change that has been brought about in the word may be further illustrated by comparing the use of *knighthood* in the older and later times. 'Our *cnihthād*,' says Ælfric, 'is as the third hour of the day'; while Scott can say,

> Knighthood he took of Douglas' sword
> When English blood swelled Ancram ford.

While *knight* may be taken as an instance of the ascent of a word in the scale of dignity, *knave* is a case of descent. Coming down to Chaucer's time it is used, irrespective of age, to denote a servant:

> Who saued Danyel in the horrible caue
> Ther euery wyght saue he, *maister* and *knave*,
> Was with the leoun frete. *M. of L.* 474.

And in the contemporary *Vision of Piers the Plowman*,

> 'I shal arraye me to ride,' quod resoun, 'reste the a while'—
> And called Catoun his *knave*. Pass. IV. 16.

And from the same poem it may be seen that *knight* and *knave* had so far developed that they can be contrasted:

> For in charnel atte chirche, cherles ben yuel to knowe,
> Or a *knizte* from a *knaue* there, knowe this in thin herte.
> Text C, IX. 51.

The meaning of servant it still had in Shakspere's time, as when Shylock speaks of his house,

> left in the fearful guard
> Of an unthrifty *knave*. *M. of V.* I. 3.

But it has also another, the origin of which is suggested by the quotation. Quite another attribute than service seems to have been noted as the badge of the servant tribe—roguery; so whether in service or not the rogue was called a knave. 'A rascally, yea-forsooth knave,' says Falstaff of the unaccommodating mercer. It is in this last sense almost exclusively that the word is now used, though, again, we have as it were the fossil that tells of earlier life in the knave of a pack of cards. It has come to pass, then, by gradual change that two words, which for the old Englishman were so near together that he could render the same Latin word by them, now stand at opposite ends of the scale—the honourable knight, and the infamous knave. The same two words may be further utilised to shew how the same material develops on quite different

lines in different places, for the German *knecht* and *knabe* do not at all correspond to our *knight* and *knave*.

town,

The word *town* may be taken as an instance of a form adapting itself to varying requirements. The early idea connected with it is that of enclosure; in old English lēac-*tūn* (*leek-town*), and wyrt-*tūn* (*wort-town*) denote a garden, and there is the verb *tȳnan* = to close; and German still has *Zaun* = hedge. A further development is seen in the Icelandic use of the word, where it refers to an enclosure within which a house is built, and so can denote the farmhouse with its buildings. The like use is found in English, as when in Luke xv. 15 the Latin *villa* is translated in the earliest version by *tūn*, and in Wicklif's by *toun*. But in England habitations were not so isolated as in Iceland, and the term which in one country is applied to a single dwelling, was used in the other of a group. We need not, however, go so far as Iceland to illustrate the former use, but may quote Scott, where he says, 'Waverley learned...that in Scotland a single house was called a *town*.' And the quotation may be taken as suggestive of the varying fortunes of the word, when we find from it that Tully-Veolan and Edinburgh are equally entitled to the name of *town*.

thou, you.

Even words whose force might seem incapable of modification may yet acquire new significance. The pronoun of the second person might be thought to give little scope for change, but the Elizabethan literature, or the history of the early Quakers, will shew how much more than a mere grammatical difference, which was all that separated them in the earlier time, had come to distinguish *thou* and *you*. The latter had come to be considered the respectful form of address in speaking to a single person. Thus it will be noticed in the scene between the king and his son, 1 *Henry IV.* Act III. Sc. ii., *you* is always used by the latter, but *thou* by the former. To use *thou* to a superior, or to an equal who was not an intimate, was an affront,

and hence came Sir Toby Belch's malicious advice to Sir Andrew Aguecheek, 'Taunt him with the licence of ink: if thou thou'st him some thrice, it shall not be amiss.' *T. N.* Act III. Sc. ii. But from the records of real life the point may best be illustrated. George Fox taught his followers to adhere to a grammatical accuracy, which, as he pointed out, even those who were most exacting in their demand for the honourable *you*, still observed where the highest honour was to be paid—in addressing the Deity. How much more was involved than a mere question of language may be seen from this passage in his *Journal*: 'Few afterwards were so rugged toward us for saying Thou and Thee to a single person, for which before they were exceedingly fierce against us. Thou and Thee was a sore cut to proud flesh, and them that sought self-honour, who, though they would say it to God and Christ, would not endure to have it said to themselves. So that we were often beaten and abused, and sometimes in danger of our lives, for using those words to some proud men, who would say, "What! you ill-bred clown, do you Thou me?" as though Christian breeding consisted in saying You to one; which is contrary to all their grammar and teaching books, by which they instructed their youth,' p. 293. Since this was written use has once more changed: *thou* now belongs to poetry or to exalted prose, and it may yet be heard in dialects (e.g. Lancashire), while *you* is the form of ordinary speech. But at the present time the German *Du* has much of the force of the Elizabethan *thou*, and the French verb *tutoyer* = to *thou* (see above) a person suggests that in French *tu* has been something more than the mere singular of *vous*.

Economical extension of language by means of metaphorical, figurative use:

7. Another means of economical development of language material is afforded by the practice of extending the application of a word beyond its first limits and using it to denote that which bears some likeness to the original which the word denoted. Thus for the attendant bodies, which above have

been referred to as *moons*, we might use the word *satellites*, because they are as it were the body-guards of the larger bodies round which they revolve. The importance of this kind of development is at once evident, when it is considered in the first place, that, as the terms imply, all metaphorical, figurative speech is owing to such extension, and next how far language is metaphorical. By way of statement of the case and at the same time illustration of it we may take this passage from Carlyle: 'Language is called the Garment of Thought: however, it should rather be, Language is the Flesh-garment, the Body, of Thought. I said that Imagination wove this Flesh-garment; and does not she? Metaphors are her stuff: examine Language; what, if you except some few primitive elements (of natural sound), what is it all but metaphors, recognised as such, or no longer recognised; still fluid and florid, or now solid-grown and colourless? If those same primitive elements are the osseous fixtures in the Flesh-garment, Language—then are Metaphors its muscles and tissues and living integuments. An unmetaphorical style you shall in vain seek for: is not your very *Attention* a *Stretching-to*? The difference lies here: some styles are lean, adust, wiry, the muscle itself seems osseous; some are even quite pallid, hunger-bitten and dead-looking; while others again glow in the flush of health and vigorous self-growth, sometimes not without an apoplectic tendency.' *Sartor Resartus*, p. 64. Where, as this passage points out, material is so abundant, selection is difficult; we may take a particular case, that in which the terms of special pursuits are transferred to the vocabulary of general terms. Such instances may serve to suggest for early times a development like that which they themselves shew, and further to illustrate slightly the point, that a language reflects the condition of the people who use it, inasmuch as they imply that such pursuits have strongly engaged the attention of those in whose language they are found. Naturally those who have had as much to do with

terms of special pursuits used generally:

the water as have the English will adopt into their speech the phraseology which is born on that element; *to sail near the wind*, *to take the wind out of one's sails*, *to be on such and such a tack*, *to put in one's oar*, *to be all in the same boat*, *to clear the deck*, *to stem the tide*, *against the stream*, have all been transferred to land. War has given us such phrases as *to lay siege to*, *to take by storm*; and the tournament has left its traces in *to enter the lists*, and *to break a lance for* a person or a cause. From hunting and fowling we get *run to earth*, *at bay*, *on the scent*, *to make a dead set*, *decoy*, *at one fell swoop*, *to fly at high game*. From fencing comes *to parry*, *a home thrust*; from archery *to be a butt*, *to hit the mark*; *rub* and *bias* we owe to the game of bowls, *handicap* to racing; *to take one's cue*, *to play a part*, tell of the theatre; and gambling, which had as strong a hold upon the early Teuton as it has upon his latest descendant, has left its mark in *to play for a great stake*, *the die is cast*, *within an ace*, *above board*, *a sure card*, *to turn up trumps*. The few instances just given may not, in all cases, be allowed the dignity of literary English, but they deserve notice as illustrating a kind of development which may very well have done much in the early times of a language to increase its powers of expression.

development from the local meanings of prepositions:

As an instance of the possibilities of development in the case of material which to begin with is of simplest meaning the prepositions may be taken, which starting with the expression of local relations come to express relations that have some analogy or connection with the local, but are of a far more abstract character. Thus *by* denotes local nearness, *to stand by* a person, in its literal sense, is to stand near him; but it has the other meaning, to assist him, which naturally follows from the former, because in order to give assistance to a person one must be near him. The same phrase has yet another sense, the opposite of the preceding, as in '*Stand by*, I am holier than thou.' Again, as the agent or the instrument may be expected

to be near that upon which either operates, agency and instrumentality are marked by the word. So, too, a person must get near that which he obtains, and we can speak of coming *by* anything, meaning getting possession of it. But we can also say to *come by* train, where it is means we are marking. Nearness may also imply agreement, and *by* all accounts is much the same as *according to* all accounts. In the same way *for*, which marks one thing as being in front of another, admits of extension. To be in front of another is to be in the position of a defender, we may fight *for* a person; or the idea of advocate or representative is suggested, we may plead *for*, or act *for*, another. Hindrance, again, may be marked, *for* aught I can see; or cause, they did it *for* envy. And it is the same with all the words of this class.

application to the non-material of terms denoting the material.

Other illustrations of development, where from a supposed connection between the material and the non-material the words which denote the former have given rise to those which denote the latter, are seen in the following. We speak of a person as being *jovial*, or *mercurial*, or *saturnine*; the words are derived from the names of the planets, which according to the belief of an earlier time could influence the dispositions of men. The moon, too, could exercise an influence, and hence the word *lunatic*. Or, again, we have *courage*, *melancholy*, *phlegmatic*, *choleric*; the words are based on the names of parts of the body, which parts were supposed to be in some way connected with the qualities denoted by the words. And the words remain, although the beliefs to which they are due may now be rejected. One other instance of this class may be considered rather more fully, as in this case the stages between an early simple physical meaning, and a later one that has been found not very easy to define, are fairly marked. We may look to Ben Jonson for an explanation of the development which the word *humour* had reached in his time, and may note in passing, that development becomes degradation,

if a language is shaped by careless users, as when *humour* was being maltreated by Corporal Nym and his kind. Very properly objecting to such abuse, he desired, as he says in the Induction to *Every Man out of his Humour*,

> To give these ignorant well-spoken days
> Some taste of their abuse of this word humour.

And then explains what is the proper use according to its derivation:

> We do conclude
> That whatso'er hath fluxure and humidity
> Is humour. So in every human body,
> The choler, melancholy, phlegm, and blood,
> By reason that they flow continually
> In some one part, and are not continent,
> Receive the name of humours. Now thus far
> It may, by metaphor, apply itself
> Unto the general disposition:
> As when some one peculiar quality
> Doth so possess a man, that it doth draw
> All his effects, his spirits, and his powers,
> In their confluctions, all to run one way;
> This may be truly said to be a *humour*.

It was in this sense that the word was used by Ben Jonson [illegible] the titles to his two plays, *Every Man in his Humour* and [illegible]*ry Man out of his Humour*, and the adjective *humorous* develo[illegible] from tha[illegible] that a person was marked by this kind of humour, as in meanin[illegible] preposit[illegible] to another play, *The Humorous Lieutenant*. Something tions co[illegible]d meaning remains in *good-* or *ill-humoured*, or the connection *umoursome*; but mostly we connect a very different character. [illegible] words *humour*, and *humorous*, from that which person, in its li[illegible]m in Ben Jonson's time.

the other meaning, [illegible]as been from one point of view only that the former, because in [illegible]ve been looked at—in respect to their must be near him. The s[illegible]nveying a meaning. But there is the opposite of the preceding, as in '[illegible]ken into account, where thou.' Again, as the agent or the ins[illegible]s—there is the spoken

form of a word, its pronunciation. And here from the nature of the case, quite as much as with the meaning, change is unavoidable. For the transmission of the spoken forms of words is due to successive imitations; each individual attempts to reproduce that which he hears uttered, and while the result of the attempt must of course be so far successful, that the reproduction is recognisable as an imitation of its original, yet such success does not require or attain, at least over long periods or in the case of all words, exactness. Taking then even a form of speech which is current among so limited a community that at any particular time it may be considered practically uniform, it is certain that the descendants of such a community will not preserve the speech unchanged in this respect. English has had so varied a history that, as might be expected, it will offer abundant illustration of such change; for example, the long vowel-sounds of the old *stān*, *cwēn*, *wrītan*, *tōþ*, *ūt* are in no cases kept in the modern *stone*, *queen*, *write*, *tooth*, *out*. Further, as is suggested by a comparison of *wrītan* with *write*, parts of a word may be lost in the course of successive transmissions; no infinitive now has the old termination, and most of the inflections have suffered the same fate. Words, too, get contracted by those who will not make the effort necessary for giving each part of a word distinctly, as when *fēowertīne niht* is contracted to *fortnight*. The change under consideration has been so great that hardly a word, which both was used in Alfred's time and is used in our own, has the same form, written and spoken, at both times.

as in the case of the long vowels in English.

Only very slightly has the adaptability of language to ever-varying needs of expression been illustrated. The intention with which such illustration as has been given is offered, has been in the first place to suggest that, if we even cursorily examine English as it is found during a not very extended period, we shall see changes of such a kind and extent as to make it appear possible that, if time be allowed for similar

changes to be worked out, language material, that did no more than satisfy the needs of a primitive state of existence, might have been a sufficient origin for the language of an advanced civilization like that of England to-day. And in the second place to suggest what a wonderful instance of development is furnished by such a language as English, what interest might be found in its history.

CHAPTER II.

Relation to one another, and to the common original, of languages which have had a common source—England and America—the languages of modern Europe—their likeness—likeness due to borrowing—likeness due to common origin—the case of the Romance languages—regular differences between Latin and English worked out—the case of the two languages parallel to that of the Romance languages—the light hence thrown upon English by Latin—other languages may be associated with English—further knowledge of English which is thus gained—other languages may be associated with Latin—the Aryan family—the classification of the Germanic or Teutonic group—its oldest monuments—the likeness of their vocabularies illustrated—light thrown by languages on the condition of those who spoke them—unique position of English.

1. THE extent and character of change in the language of a country has been slightly illustrated in the preceding chapter by the help of some common English words. As an introduction to the present chapter a particular case of change in a language, which also may be illustrated from the later history of English, may be noticed; that, namely, where from the migration of a section of the main body of its speakers a language develops simultaneously under different conditions. Such is the case of English in England and in the United States; and already there are differences noticeable when the speech of one country is compared with that of the other; e.g. though *guess* and *calculate* are current in both, yet neither is used in both

The relation to one another, and to the common original, of languages which have had a common source. The case of England and America.

with exactly the same force; *dollar* and *cent* are not ours; the pronunciation of America is not that of England. Taking, then, English both in its old home and in lands to which its speakers have migrated, we may get a suggestion of what might happen in the case of the language material of a community whose descendants after long time should be found in widely scattered groups, each group having been subjected to conditions different alike from those of the parent community and from those of every other group. The American and the Englishman can still for the most part understand one another, but if it were possible to bring together the subjects of King Alfred and those of Queen Victoria, they would be mutually unintelligible. And so with the groups we have supposed: the description of the state of things at Babel might in time come to be applicable to them—they might not understand one another's speech; nor might they understand the speech of the parent community from which they had descended. Now this condition of mutual unintelligibility, which we have taken to be a possible result in the case supposed, is practically just what exists among the various peoples of Europe; the present actual condition agrees with the result that might be expected on the hypothesis that a single speech had had varied opportunities of development. Can we find reasons for supposing that the actual condition of the early times agrees equally well with this hypothetical case, and in respect to a Babel-like multiplicity of languages in modern Europe can we say, as did the old observer of language in respect to the earlier 'confusion of tongues,' that at some previous time there had been 'one language and one speech'? An examination of the languages in question will furnish an answer.

Can the languages of Modern Europe be taken as another case?

2. Though they are so far different that they are spoken of as distinct speeches, yet in almost all cases when they are compared with one another likeness is to be recognised. Likeness, however,

They are alike.

may be due to various causes. There is that kind of likeness, so often occurring in English, which is due to borrowing. Many of our words are like Latin words, but that is because they practically are Latin; they are merely Latin words shaped by English speakers.

Likeness due to borrowing.

There is, again, the likeness of French, Italian, and Spanish words, which, as we know, is due to the fact that they have a common origin, viz. Latin. Here we can see the same material being shaped independently by different sets of speakers according to laws which may be deduced from an examination of the material on which they have operated. Thus Latin *veritat-* gives rise to French *vérité*, to Italian *verità*, to Spanish *verdad*. If now we compare English and Latin, of the first kind of likeness, as has been said, we can find endless instances. English has *human*, Latin has *humanus*, but the former is merely the latter in an English dress, and tells us nothing of the second kind of likeness, such as is seen in French, Italian, and Spanish. But alongside Latin *homo*, the material of which we have borrowed, we can put an English *guma*, really to be found in *bridegroom* (Old English *brȳd-guma*), and here it may turn out that we have an instance of the likeness that will, as in the case of *vérité*, &c., point to common origin. Now it will be noticed that, in the three Romance languages referred to, the original material common to them all develops regularly in each of them; thus if another word like *veritat-* be taken, e.g. *humanitat-*, the identical material in the two words has the same development in each language respectively, and we get French *humanité*, Italian *humanità*, Spanish *humanidad*; so that we see the regular correspondence French *-té*, Italian *-tà*, Spanish *-dad*. Moreover it may be seen how, if the links which connect the divergent forms of these modern speeches with their common source had been lost, it would still be possible to construct the common form with which each had been connected; to the construction

Likeness due to common origin, and accompanied by regular difference. The case of the Romance languages.

of *veritat-* French and Italian would contribute *verit-*, Italian and Spanish would provide *-a*, and Spanish, which seems to turn *t* to *d*, would give the final dental. The example of these speeches may suggest, in the first place, that if we want to establish the relation of common origin between English and Latin we should shew that there is a regular correspondence between English and Latin forms; e.g. the correspondences between *guma* and *homo*, viz. that where English has *g*, Latin has *h*, that both have *m*, must be proved to be regular by shewing that to other English forms which have *g* or *m*, as *guma* has, will, if like it they have Latin parallels, correspond Latin forms with *h* or *m*. And the example may further suggest that, if the common origin be established, it may be possible to construct the common forms from which the English and Latin words have developed.

3. To work out in all its details the problem of correspondence between Latin and English is unnecessary, but some part of it may be given. And it may be noted, by the way, that, thanks to the peculiar influences under which English has been shaped, we can obtain much of the Latin material we need for comparison from our present vocabulary; just as from *homi*cide we might have got the material for comparison with *guma* instead of directly appealing to Latin *homo*. Turning then to a more particular consideration of the likeness of English to Latin, it is easy to find words which in both form and meaning may illustrate the point. Of this kind, for example, are words denoting the members of the family, such as *pater*nal and *father*ly, *mater*nal and *mother*ly, *frater*nal and *brother*ly. So, too, with numerals, *unity* is *oneness*, a *dual* control is one exercised by *two* parties, *triple* is *threefold*, to *decimate* is to take one out of every *ten*; and the old Englishman who rendered *uni-cornis* by *ān-hyrne* was employing English material which corresponded with the Latin to an extent that he did not suspect. The pronouns,

Likeness of the second kind mentioned in § 2 to be found on comparing Latin and English.

again, offer material: the *egoist* is one who uses the pronoun *I* (older *ic*) too often. Sir Toby Belch's suggestion "If thou *thou'st* him" might be translated by means of Latin material—the French verb *tutoyer*; Latin *quid*nunc is English *what* now. The same likeness is seen in some of our commonest verbs; *edible* is *eatable*, the *sedentary* man is the one who *sits* much. Now looking at such words it will be seen that the relation of Latin *paternus*, *triplex*, *edere*, &c. to *paternal*, *triple*, *edible*, &c. is of a different character from that of the same Latin words to *fatherly*, *threefold*, *eatable*, &c.; and that it is as different, to recur to the old example, as is the relation of Latin *veritas* to Italian *verità* from that of Italian *verità* to Spanish *verdad* we will now try to shew by deducing a scheme of regular correspondence between English and Latin forms.

(1) the regular difference of dental sounds:

Take the case of Latin material (either in the original Latin or in an English form) which contains a sound of a particular class, the hard (surd, breathed) dental *t*, e.g. *tu*, *triple*, *fraternal*, *dental*; on turning to native English words of identical meaning and similar form, it will be found that the place of the Latin *t* is in every case occupied by *th*, another dental, and we have *thou*, *threefold*, *brotherly*, *tooth*. Again, if Latin material be chosen that contains the soft (sonant, voiced) dental *d*, such as *dental*, *decimate*, *cordial*, *pedal*, the native English words of the same meaning *tooth*, *ten*, *hearty*, *foot*, all shew *t* in place of *d*. To complete a correspondence of dental sounds which seems already suggested by the two cases already noticed, we ought to be able to take Latin forms having *th*, and find that these have equivalents in English shewing *d*. But though the latter sound is frequent enough in English, *th* is not to be found in Latin; and if we want an equivalent for the material of our *door*, it is to Latin *fores* that we must look. However, if we may so far anticipate as to allow an appeal to Greek, we may find material that will shew a dental to correspond to our English *d*, and Greek *thura* is our *door*, Greek *thugatēr*, our

daughter. Approximately, at least, we have worked out a scheme of correspondence as follows:

Latin	*t*,	*f* (*th* Greek),	*d*.
English	*th*,	*d*,	*t*.

(2) the regular difference of guttural sounds:

If now another group of sounds be considered, and Latin material shewing *c*, *h*, *g* respectively be taken, a similar scheme of correspondence with English may be worked out. Thus to Latin *collis* and *cornu* correspond English *hill* and *horn*, so that Latin *c* here finds its equivalent in English *h*. Again Latin *homo*, *hostis*, *hortus* may compare with our *guma*, *guest*, *garden*, which shew English *g* for Latin *h*; while Latin *gelidus* and *granum* on comparison with English *cold* and *corn* give a third correspondence, Latin *g* = English *c*. With the same approximation as before we may accept the scheme:

Latin	*c*,	*h*,	*g*.
English	*h*,	*g*,	*c*.

(3) the regular difference of labial sounds:

There remains a third group, the lip letters, to notice, and following the same order as in the two preceding cases we see Latin *pater* and *pellis* have their equivalents in English *father* and *fell*, that to Latin *ferre* and *frater* correspond English *bear* and *brother*; while in *lubricus* we may recognise the same material that is found in English *slippery*. A third scheme then might be tabulated:

Latin	*p*,	*f*,	*b*,
English	*f*,	*b*,	*p*.

(4) a general scheme.

On looking at the three schemes it will be seen that they may be represented by one formula; for whether it be the dental, guttural, or labial group, the same place is occupied in each scheme by the hard, aspirate, or soft member of the group respectively in the case both of Latin and English. Thus we get a general form:

Latin	H,	A,	S.
English	A,	S,	H.

This result, though only a partial statement of the case, may be taken at least as going far to prove a regularity of difference between English and Latin words like that seen in the case of French, Italian, and Spanish, which was due to the development of those languages from a common source, and so to establish a like development in the case of English and Latin.

4. That the scheme given above, so attractive in its simplicity, is partial, can easily be seen, for the form which seems required by theory is not in every case found in practice. If, however, such discrepancies are shewn to be apparent only, and to be in reality examples of other laws, so far from weakening the case for regular correspondence, that we wish to establish, they will furnish further proof in its favour. For instance, in the case of *hostis* and *guest* while as regards the *h* and *g* theory and practice agree, in respect to the *t*, which appears in both, they do not; the reason for such apparent discrepancy is that the combination *st* is constant. Again, Latin *decem* and English *ten* satisfy the scheme so far as the initial dentals are concerned, but no form of the English numeral shews the *h* that should correspond to the Latin *c*. That the English word must, however, at one time have had a guttural is suggested by the earliest form of the *-ty* (in *twenty* &c.), which was *-tig*, and that the guttural was *h* is shewn by the form of the word in a language which we shall see closely resembles English, viz. Gothic: there the numeral is written *taihun*. In just the same way our old English verb *tēon* agrees, according to the scheme of dentals, with the Latin *ducere*, but fails as regards the gutturals. But in this case, too, either by referring to the past singular *tēah*, or to the Gothic infinitive *tiuhan*, the required correspondence is established, and the apparent failure is explained by the law for English, that *h* between vowels disappears.

Regular deviations from the general scheme.

Verner's Law.

But the most remarkable case of regular divergence from the scheme deduced above is that which may be illustrated by the two words *brother* and *father*. In their present form, indeed, both seem equally in agreement with the general rule that Lat. *t* = Engl. *th*, but on looking to earlier times it will be found that while the older form of *brother* was *brōþor*, that of *father* was *fæder*; the one keeps the rule, the other seems to break it. Now at one time the position of the accent was different in the two words; in *brother* the accent was on the vowel preceding the *th*, in *father* it was not. In cases where the accent did not fall as in *brother* it will be found that English shews *d*, not *th*; so the Latin *mater*, which is similar to *pater*, has for the corresponding English form *mōdor*, not *mōþor*. Under the same conditions in the matter of accent a parallel divergence is seen in the case of the gutturals; English shews *g*, not *h*, as the equivalent of the Latin *c*. So the Old English word for a leader, *here-toga*, is connected with the verb noticed above *tēon* (= *tēohan*) which corresponds with Latin *ducere*, and *toga* may consequently be connected with Latin *dux*[1]. The instances given may be enough to shew how deviations from the simple expression of correspondence by their regular character offer the same kind of evidence, as is afforded by that simple expression itself, as to the relation between English and Latin.

Regular correspondence of other sounds: m, n:

5. Turning now to consider other sounds we shall find that again regularity of correspondence is recognisable. Thus Latin *m* and *n* are generally preserved in English, e.g. Lat. *mater*, *me*, *homo*, *domare*, *nomen*, *noct-*, *novem*, *tenuis*, *cornu*, corresponding to Engl. *mother*, *me*, *guma*, *tame*, *name*, *night*, *nine*, *thin*, *horn*.

[1] The law, which is here illustrated in the case of the dental *th* and of the guttural *h*, and which concerns also the labial *f*, and, as will be seen later, the sibilant *s*, is called after the scholar who formulated it Verner's Law. As an exact statement of it belongs to a fuller treatment of the subject than is being attempted, such a statement is not given.

In the case of *n*, however, as in the case of *h* (see above), the general rule may fail to express in some instances the actual condition, because another law has come into operation. Thus the *n* of Latin *dent-* is not in accordance with the general rule preserved in English *tooth*; the reason is that English regularly dropped *n* before *th*; compare, for instance, *ten* with *tithe*. Again, Latin *r* and *l* are generally constant, e.g. Lat. *rectus*, *ferre*, *pater*, *longus*, *collis*, *pellis* are in English *right*, *bear*, *father*, *long*, *hill*, *fell*. So, too, Latin *s* is English *s*, e.g. Lat. *sex*, *septem*, *sedere*, *est*, *hostis* are Engl. *six*, *seven*, *sit*, *is*, *guest*. In the case of *s*, however, the same law that was seen to cause the difference of dentals in *brother* and *father*, may bring about the change of *s* to *r* in an English word, and so again the case may arise where, until that law is taken into account, the regular correspondence seems quite to fail. The change in question, it may be noticed, is still to be seen in different parts of the same English verb, e.g. *was*, *were*; *lose*, *for-lorn*; and the former pair may help us to recognise the really regular correspondence of Lat. *ves-tire* and Eng. *wear*. This last example may suggest yet another correspondence, that of Latin *v* with English *w*, further instances of which may be found in *ventus* and *wind*, *velle* and *will*, *vae* and *woe*, *veh-icle* and *wain* (earlier *wægn*), *vidua* and *widow*. The correspondence of the other semi-vowel may be seen in *subjugate*, which literally means to make a person pass under the *yoke*, and in *juvenile* which means a *young* person.

r, l:

s:

r < s:

v, w:

j.

6. There remain now for notice only the vowels. These sounds admit modification more readily than do the consonants, and a scheme of correspondences in their case will be proportionately more complicated. A few instances, however, may be sufficient to shew that the correspondences of the vowels, no less than those of

Regular correspondence of vowels.

the consonants, are marked by regularity. Thus Latin *ad*, *pater*, *ager* have in Old English the forms *æt*, *fæder*, *æcer* (*æ* having the sound of *a* in *at*); Lat. *edere*, *ferre*, *pellis* are O.E. *etan*, *beran*, *fell*; Lat. *piscis*, *vidua* are O.E. *fisc*, *widuwe*. In Latin (1) *hortus* and *domare* the *o* corresponds to the *a* of *garden* and *tame*: (2) the *ā* of *māter* and *frāter* is the *ō* of *mōdor* and *brōþor*: the diphthong *au* of *augere* and *auris* is the *ēa* of *ēac* (mod. *eke*) and *ēare*. Here is regularity comparable with that which marks the relation between Latin *t*, &c. and English *th*, &c. And just as in the case of these consonants a general rule is modified by special conditions, so with the vowels. Thus while the infinitives *edere* and *etan* agree with the rule that Latin *e* = English *e*, on turning to the 2nd pres. sing. of the verbs it is found that the forms are *edis* and *itst*; so, too, the infinitive *sedere* has as its English counterpart *sittan*. Again, though the nominatives of the nouns *māter* and *frāter* shew Latin *ā* = English *ō*, yet the datives of the English words, *mēder* and *brēþer*, seem to shew Latin *ā* = English *ē*; so, too, on the analogy of *māter*, Latin *fāgus* should have an English *bōc-* form; the actual word, however, is *bēce* (mod. *beech*). Here just as under special conditions English shewed a *d* instead of a *th* for Latin *t*, so it shews *i* and *ē* instead of *e* and *ō* respectively; the special conditions in these cases being the presence of certain sounds in the syllables that followed the vowels in question. It is, then, with the vowels as with the consonants; in the case of neither group shall we always find that a law of correspondence between a Latin and an English sound is universal in its application; but where the simplicity of universal application is not found its absence is due, not to the absence of rule, but to the presence of more rules than one.

Regular deviation.

7. Though the preceding illustrations only partially present the case of the connection between English and Latin, yet they may be enough to shew that there is between English and Latin forms that regular

The relation of Latin to English a parallel case to

correspondence, which the example of French, Italian and Spanish suggested may find its explanation in the development of the two languages from the same material. Accepting the conclusion, then, that Latin and English have a common origin, we may turn to notice what is the significance of the scheme deduced above :—

the relation of the Romance languages to one another.

Significance of the general scheme in § 3.

Latin	*H*,	*A*,	*S*.
English	*A*,	*S*,	*H*.

Turned into words the scheme means approximately this: that as regards the sounds with which the scheme is concerned, the condition of the language spoken by the ancestors of the English must once have been nearly the same as that seen in Latin; but that later such a change in these sounds was gradually carried out by our forefathers, that *t* was regularly changed to *th*, *th* to *d*, and *d* to *t*; similar changes were made also in the case of the other sounds. Thus an earlier *dent-*, which is the stage seen in Latin, in the end came to have among those from whom the English are descended the form *tōth*.

8. It will be seen, then, that from a comparison of English and Latin only much may be learnt about English that English by itself cannot tell us, so that the history of English is not confined, as would be the case if such comparison were not possible, to the period whose beginning is fixed by the date of the earliest English MSS. But it is not Latin only with which a comparison may be made. Many languages can be found that shew a closer connection with English than does Latin. For instance, there are some which share with English that condition of consonants, which English shewed in contrast with Latin. Thus, taking old forms of speech, how near Gothic, Old Saxon and Icelandic are to English in this particular, may be seen by reference to the

Languages to be associated with English, and the consequent extension of the general scheme in § 3.

words in them which are the equivalents of English forms contrasted above with Latin:

English	Gothic	O. Saxon	Icelandic
thou	*thu*	*thu*	*thu*
door	*daur*	*dura*	*dyrr* (pl.)
ten	*taihun*	*tehan*	*tiu*
horn	*haurn*	*horn*	*horn*
guest	*gasts*	*gast*	*gestr*
father	*fadar*	*fader*	*faðer*

Other sounds might be considered, as was done in comparing Latin and English, and the result would be to make still more apparent the close connection between the languages concerned. These languages, then, in their relation to one another shew, to recur to a case used above, a yet closer parallel to the Romance languages, which we know have a common origin, than do English and Latin, of whose common origin proof has been offered. Without looking for further evidence we may assume, that for English, Gothic, Old Saxon and Icelandic (besides others) there has been a common original form, capable of at least approximate construction, which, e.g., would shew the characteristic contrasts, common to all, with Latin. We might now modify the scheme arrived at above and substitute for English this common Teutonic speech.

Information about English gained from other Teutonic speeches.

9. But just as the establishment of the relationship between English and Latin brings with it, as we saw, a knowledge of English which could not be gained from English alone, so with this further association of English with other speeches comes further knowledge of what might be called prehistoric English. For instance our pronouns *we*, *us* never have any other forms even in the oldest MSS., but Gothic *weis*, *uns*, Icelandic *ver*, and (to quote a language not yet used) German *wir*, *uns* will shew what is the earlier history of the words. Or, again, the oldest forms of the verb *to see*, infin.

sēon, p. sing. *seah*, pl. *sāwon* or *sāgon*, would be difficult to explain if English stood alone; but Gothic *saihwan*, p. sing. *sahw*, pl. *sēhwun* would do much to remove the difficulty, and with help from the other languages might make it possible to construct a form out of which all the varieties found in any of them might have grown.

Continuation of the general scheme of § 3 so as to include High German.

10. It was said just above, that the scheme of correspondence worked out for certain sounds in Latin and English might be extended by the substitution of a common Teutonic speech for English. This involves of course the same substitution in the interpretation given of the scheme. And that interpretation may now be confirmed by reference to a speech whose relation to the common Teutonic is like that of the latter to Latin. If German be compared with English (which may be taken here as representing the common form), it will be found that a process like that which ended in the differentiation of a common Teutonic speech from Latin has been repeated, with the result that the language of one section has become differentiated from the common original of the whole group. Thus the German forms of the first three words used above to illustrate the identity of English, Gothic, &c., are *du*, *tor*, *zehn*. There is a second shift, from *th* to *d*, from *d* to *t*, from *t* to *z* (= *ts*). That this second shift is not carried out so consistently as is the first is suggested by the German forms of the next three words in the list, viz. *horn*, *gast*, *vater*, where the gutturals and the labial shew little change; but in so far as change is made there is a regularity similar to that shewn in the first shift, the character of which it serves to illustrate.

The scheme extended so as to associate other languages with Latin. Grimm's Law.

11. There still remains to notice a further extension of the scheme, which carries with it a further extension of the relationship among languages. With Latin, as with English, may be associated other languages. Thus Greek *phero* is as near Latin *fero*, as Gothic *bairan* is near English *beran*;

and on the ground of similar likeness other languages may be added to Latin and Greek. The scheme, then, which expressed regular correspondence between Latin and English, and by its regularity helped to prove the common origin of the two, has served as the nucleus for a scheme, which expresses regular correspondences between groups of languages, and by its regularity helps to prove the common origin of all the languages that are included in it. An exact statement of the scheme known as 'Grimm's Law for the permutation of consonants' has not been attempted, only a suggestion of its character has been given; as regards, too, the sounds with which it does not deal, the regularity of correspondence as seen in the case of Latin and English must be taken as suggestive of the results which would be arrived at by a wider comparison; but enough may have been said to shew the kind of evidence that may be given to justify the acceptance of a relationship among certain languages, which makes the use of the metaphor appropriate in speaking of them as the Aryan (or Arian) or Indo-European or Indo-Germanic *family*.

The family of languages whose relationship is established.

12. The following is a list of the chief members of this family (quoted from Dr Sweet's *English Grammar*, p. 212), 'different periods of their development being separated by dashes.

A. **East-Arian** or Asiatic:

(*a*) Sanskrit, the sacred language of India—Pali—Bengali and the other **Gaurian** languages of India.

(*b*) **Iranian** languages: Zend or Old Bactrian. Old Persian, which is the language of the Cuneiform inscriptions—Modern Persian.

(*c*) Armenian, which is really half-way between East- and West- Arian.

B. **West-Arian** or European:

(*d*) Greek—Romaic or Modern Greek.

(*e*) Latin—the **Romance** languages: Italian, Provençal, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Roumanian.

(*f*) **Celtic** languages. Gaulish. The **Goidelic** group: Irish, Manx, Gaelic. The **Cymric** group: Welsh, Cornish, Breton (introduced from Britain).

(*g*) **Slavonic** languages. Old Bulgarian — Russian, Polish, Bohemian, Servian, Bulgarian.

(*h*) **Baltic** languages. Lithuanian, Lettish.

(*i*) **Germanic** languages.'

Degrees of nearness of relationship.

While all members of the family shew a family likeness, varying degrees of nearness of kin may be noticed; the point may be briefly illustrated in regard to the Germanic speeches. Take for instance the numerals. The words for numbers up to 100 for the most part agree in a very striking manner; but in the case of 11 and 12 Germanic speeches do not, as e.g. do Latin and Greek, combine the material used for 1 and 2 with that used for 10 (cf. Latin *duodecim* with English *twelve*). Now in the formation of the same numerals Lithuanian does not use its form for 10, but a form *-lika* (*dwy-lika* = 12), a parallelism between Germanic and Lithuanian which seems to shew a closer connection between them than between either and e.g. Latin. Again in the case of the higher number, 1000, Germanic, Lithuanian and Slavonic shew likeness in the words they use, but differ from both Latin and Greek.

Classification of the Germanic Group.

13. Leaving, however, the relations of the Germanic languages to other members of the family we may notice how their relations to one another may help to their classification. Gothic and Scandinavian shew points of agreement. For instance, in the conjugation of the strong verb they shew regularly, as the inflexion of the 2nd per. sing. p. indic., a *t*, which other Germanic speeches can shew only in exceptional cases,

e.g. in the originally past form *shal-t*. The two are grouped together under the name East-Germanic, the other members of the stock forming the West-Germanic division. The Germanic group, then, may be classified (continuing the quotation from Dr Sweet's Grammar),

'*A.* **East-Germanic:**

(*a*) Gothic.

(*b*) **Scandinavian** languages.

West-Scandinavian group:

Norwegian,
Icelandic.

East-Scandinavian group:

Danish,
Swedish.

B. **West-Germanic:**

(*c*) **Low German** languages. Old Saxon—Dutch, Flemish. **Anglo-Frisian** group: English, Frisian.

(*d*) High German or German.'

A reference to Grimm's Law will shew a reason for the division of the West-Germanic into two sections.

Oldest specimens of Teutonic speech.

14. As the grounds for the classification contained in the scheme just given are got from a comparison of the languages included in it, a brief notice of some of the oldest specimens of these languages will not be out of place here. Among such monuments the one that for several reasons may claim to be mentioned first is the (fragmentary) version of the Scriptures in Gothic. The MSS., in which all that is left to us is preserved, may be dated about 500, but the translation was the work of one who lived in the 4th century. This was Wulfila (or Ulfilas in a foreign form), whose work and character may well claim the respect of every one interested in Teutonic speech. He is said to have

been descended from Cappadocian captives, who had been carried off by Goths in the 3rd century, but he bears a Gothic name, and is identified with the people among whom he was born and for whom he laboured. Born probably about 311, at the age of thirty he was made bishop, and for forty years discharged the duties of his office among the Goths. Seven years after his ordination, like a second Moses, he led his people into Moesia, and it is from their settlement in this province of the Roman Empire that the name Moeso-Gothic is used of their speech, which, thanks to Wulfila, may yet be studied. For in his zeal to promote the spiritual welfare of his flock he undertook a translation of the Bible, and of this there remain the greater part of the Gospels and of the Epistles of St Paul; of the Old Testament only very slight fragments are left. Besides this translation there is a fragment of a translation of a commentary on the Gospel of St John, and one or two minor specimens of Gothic speech; on the whole there is material from which much may be learned of Gothic.

The other member of the East-Germanic group can also furnish very early specimens. The Runic inscriptions, which give the earliest forms of Scandinavian speech, take us as far back as the 5th century after Christ (some authorities assign a yet earlier date); and in later times there is the rich literature of Iceland with its extensive vocabulary and well-preserved grammatical forms.

In the West-Germanic group the Old Saxon is represented by a specimen belonging to the 9th century, a poem of nearly six thousand lines, which forms a metrical harmony of the Gospels. Frisian is preserved in documents of the 12th and 13th centuries. Of High German there are specimens belonging to the 9th century in the harmony of the Gospels that goes under the name of Tatian, and in the metrical rendering of the same material by Otfrid. In the case of English, of which more will be said later, we can go back to the 8th century, perhaps even to the end of the 7th.

Cædmon

The likeness of the above languages illustrated.

15. The foregoing may serve to suggest what are the time limits for the material, from an examination of which is to be deduced the relation of the various languages, and an illustration may now be given to shew how readily such examination will bring out relationship. Here are a few verses of the Gothic translation mentioned above, in which it will be seen that nearly all the material is found in the other languages:

Hauseiþ. Sai, urrann sa saiands du saian. Jah warþ, miþþanei saiso, sum raihtis gadraus faur wig, jah kwemun fuglos jah fretun þata. Anþar gadraus ana stainahamma, þarei ni habaida airþa managa, jah suns urrann, in þizei ni habaida diupaizos airþos. At sunnin þan urrinnandin ufbrann, jah unte ni habaida waurtins, gaþaursnoda. Mark iv. 3—6.

Here even in modern English nearly all the material may be recognised.

The nouns *wig*, *fuglos*, *airþa*, *sunnin*, *waurtins* are *way* (A.S. *weg*), *fowl* (A.S. *fugol*), *earth* (A.S. *eorþe*), *sun* (A.S. *sunne*), *wort* (A.S. *wyrt*); the verbs *hauseiþ*, *sai*, *rann*, *saian*, *kwemun*, *habaida*, *brann* are *hear* (A.S. *hīeraþ*, imper.), *see* (A.S. *sēon*), *run* (A.S. *rann*, p.), *sow* (A.S. *sēow*, p.), *come* (A.S. *cūōmon*, p. pl.), *have* (A.S. *hæfde*, p.), *burn* (A.S. *barn*, p.); the adjective forms *sum*, *anþar*, *managa*, *diupaizos* are seen in *some* (A.S. *sum*), *other* (A.S. *ōþer*), *many* (A.S. *mænig*), *deep* (A.S. *dēop*); the pronouns miþ-þa*n*-ei, þa*ta*, þi*z*-ei shew the same material as *that* or *the*; and other words, *raiht*-is, *faur*, *ana*, þa*r*-ei, *suns*, *in*, *at*, þa*n* may compare with English *right*, *for*, *on*, *there*, *soon*, *in*, *at*, *then*. Where modern English fails, the older language supplies the missing link in the case of *sa*, cf. A.S. *se*; *warþ*, A.S. *wearþ* (infin. *weorþan*, cf. woe *worth* the day); *miþ*, A.S. *mid*; *gadraus*, A.S. *gedrēas* (infin. *ge-drēosan*, cf. *dreary*); *frētun*, A.S. *frǣton* (infin. *fretan* = *for-etan*); *ni*, A.S. *ne*; while the roots of *stainahamma* and *gaþaursnoda* are found in *stone* (A.S. *stān*), and A.S. *þyrre*.

That similar results may be obtained in the case of Icelandic, Old Saxon and German will be sufficiently illustrated by taking only the verbs and nouns.

Gothic	Icelandic	O. Saxon	German
hausjan	*heyra*	*hōrian*	*hören*
saihwan	*siá*	*sehan*	*sehen*
rinnan	*renna*	*rinnan*	*rinnen*
saian	*sá*	*sāian*	*säen*
wairþan	*verþa*	*werþan*	*werden*
driusan	(cf. *dreyr-igr*)	*driosan*	(cf. *trauer*)
kwiman	*koma*	*kuman*	*kommen*
haban	*hafa*	*hebbian*	*haben*
(*fra-*)*itan*	*eta*	*etan*	*essen*, (*fr*)*essen*
brinnan	*brenna*	*brinnan*	*brennen*
þaursnōn	*þorna*	(cf. *þorrōn*)	(cf. *ver-dorren*)
wigs	*vegr*	*weg*	*weg*
fugls	*fugl*	*fugal*	*vogel*
airþa	*iörð*	*erða*	*erde*
sunna	*sunna* (poet.)	*sunna*	*sonne*
waurts	*urt*	*wurt*	*wurz*

16. But it is not only information about words that is to be got by the consideration of languages; the fact that a word is common to different peoples may shew that the object denoted by the word is equally common to them, and thus not only the early condition of the speeches, but also the early condition of the speakers, may be inferred. Thus E. *fee* (A.S. *feoh* = cattle), whose equivalent is found not only in all the Teutonic languages but also in others of the family, e.g. Lat. *pecus*, tells of the early possession of flocks and herds; while the forms *ox*, *cow* (cf. Lat. *bos*), *ewe* (cf. Lat. *ovis*), *goat* (cf. Lat. *haedus*), *farrow* (A.S. *fearh*, cf. Lat. *porcus*), A.S. *eoh*, a horse (cf. Lat. *equus*), all of which are equally widely spread, may give some information as to the animals of which such flocks and

Light thrown by languages on the condition of those who spoke them.

herds consisted. Among wild animals the names *fox* (cf. Lat. *lupus*), *wolf*, *bear* shew common Teutonic material, as does also the general name *deer* (A.S. *dēor*). So, too, with birds: as seen above the general term *fowl* is common Teutonic; and there is common material in the words *hen* (in A.S. there is also the masculine *hana*, cf. Lat. *can-ere*, to sing), *sparrow*, *swallow*, *ern* (A.S. *earn*, an eagle), *hawk*. Of early agriculture something, too, might be learned. *Ear* = to plough (A.S. *erian*) is cognate with Lat. *ar-are*; *corn* with the Lat. *granum*; A.S. *bere* may compare with Gothic *bariz-eins*, of barley; *wheat* with Gothic *hwaiteis* and German *weizen*. The A.S. *cweorn*, a mill, is the Gothic *kwairnus*. Among the names for metals *gold*, *silver*, *iron* are common Teutonic words, and of the early shaping of metals evidence is afforded by A.S. *bēag* (cf. *būgan*, to bend), Icel. *baugr*, O. Sax. *bōg*, O.H.G. *poug*, all words for a ring. Of religion, too, something may be learned from the widely spread names of the gods *Tīw* (cf. Lat. *deus*), *Wōden*, *Thunor* (*Thōr*), still preserved in the names of the days of the week. The A.S. *blōtan*, to sacrifice, has equivalent forms in Gothic, Icelandic and O. H. German; and A.S. *hearh*, a temple, may be compared with O.H.G. *haruc* = fanum, delubrum, and Icel. *hörgr*, an altar.

These few instances may suggest, that as well for the history of the speakers as for the history of their speeches, the comparison of the latter with one another is fruitful in results, which throw light upon the times that precede those of which we have direct information. But it is mainly with the history of the speech that we are concerned, and to our knowledge of this a most important contribution has been made, if, as the chapter has attempted to shew, English can vindicate its claim to a place in the Aryan family. For this position implies that its history before it appears as English may be known; its forms may be traced to common Teutonic predecessors, and these again to the primitive material which is common to the whole family

17. In conclusion it may be noted that English holds among its relatives a position in some respects unique. For it has been the fate of those who have spoken it to be brought in one or other way into contact with representatives of nearly all the great divisions of the family, and to have borrowed of their language material. The English thrust themselves into a land occupied by Celts, and have been in contact with them ever since. They were, thanks to Christianity, brought into contact with those whose language was Latin, and by the Norman Conquest with those who spoke a language derived from Latin; later, with the revival of learning, came the study of the literatures of Rome and Greece; and, later still, by the conquest of India, Asiatic members of the family were brought into contact with the English. All this intercourse has left its marks on the language, so that from nearly every section of the family has this one member of it drawn material to form itself.

Unique position of English.

CHAPTER III.

Early history of a language to be learnt from a comparison with others – foreign influence on Teutonic speeches before the English conquest of Britain—loan-words from Latin—from Celtic—Celtic Britain as a Roman province—results as regards language—contrast with Gaul—*Latin of the First Period*—relations between Celts and English—origin of the word *Wales*—the Celtic stock—earliest borrowings from Celtic—later borrowings—geographical names.

1. In the preceding chapter has been illustrated the possibility of tracing back the history of words beyond the stage which they shew in the earliest known specimens of the language in which they occur; comparison with kindred forms furnishes material from which such knowledge may be derived. Thus the continuous thread of change, which can be traced back through English during the whole period in which we know it from existing monuments, instead of being broken at the point where that period begins, is extended into a remote past. But leaving now the consideration of such early history, the possibility of gaining some knowledge of which is implied in accepting for English a place in the Aryan family, we may turn to notice some points which belong to times less remote, yet preceding the settlement of the English in this island.

Knowledge of the early history of a language to be got by a comparison of it with others.

2. For a knowledge of the changes that during such times were being effected in the language material that was as the result of them to take the shape shewn by the speech of the conquerors of Britain, we must depend upon the comparison of English with its Teutonic relatives, and from such comparison it will appear, that not only were those modifications of form taking place, which are continuously to be traced in later times, but also another modification, which, too, in varying degrees has continuously marked the development of the language during the period when it is known from its written monuments. These shew that words have been admitted into the vocabulary from other languages, with which from various causes English has been brought in contact; and that such borrowing took place in yet earlier times may be shewn by help of the comparison referred to above. Teutonic tribes by intercourse with the Romans were brought under the influence of Latin, and as a result accepted some of its words. To determine whether such loan-words were to be found in the language of the Teutons who came to Britain is not possible from an examination of the Old English alone, for we know the language only when it had for a long time been settled in a country that had once been a province of the Roman Empire, and after it had been exposed to the Latin influence that accompanied Christianity. The presence of a Latin word, then, even in our earliest specimens, could not, if we took English alone, justify the inference that it was already in the language of those who came to Britain. But by the help of other languages such an inference may be possible. Words borrowed from Latin, that appear both in Old English and in the earliest monuments of several other Teutonic dialects, may well have been used in their continental home by the forefathers of the English. Among such early borrowings may be placed Lat. *vīnum*, which gave to English *wīn*, and a corresponding form to every

Foreign influence on Teutonic speeches before the English conquest of Britain.

Loan-words from Latin.

other Teutonic dialect. The word for vinegar is in Old English *eced*; Gothic, Old Saxon, O.H. German also shew like forms; all of them are from Latin. The Latin *mango* = a defrauding trader, gives rise as well to the Old English *mangere* (cf. iron-*monger*), a trader, and to the verb *mangian*, to trade, as to Old Saxon *mangōn*, to trade, and to O.H. German *mangari* = mercator. The coinage of the Romans (*moneta*) may have been known in the same early times, for alongside the Old English *mynet* (cf. mint), a coin, and *mynetere*, a coiner, may be placed Old Saxon *muniteri*, a coiner, *munitōn*, to coin, and O.H. German *munizari* and *munizōn*. On the same level stands Old English *pund*, seen in the same form in Gothic, and in O.H. German as *pfunt*, from Latin *pondo*. Words, too, connected with some of the characteristic Roman works are widely spread, and would seem to have been early adopted by the Teutons: e.g. Latin *strāta* gives Old Englisn *stræt*, Old Saxon *strāta*, Old Frisian *strēte*, O.H. German *strāza*; Latin *vallum*, Old English *weall*, Old Saxon *wall*, Old Frisian *wal*; Latin *porta*, Old English *port*, Old Saxon *porta*, Old Frisian *porte*, O.H. German *phorta*; Latin *vīcus*, Old English *wīc*, Old Saxon, Old Frisian *wīk*, O.H. German *wīch*.

The names of the days of the week.

Such instances may at least make it probable, that the language, which the conquerors of Britain brought with them, had been already influenced by Latin. Even native words may be appealed to for evidence in the same direction. With the exception of Saturday the names given to the days of the week are English words, but they are used to represent Latin originals; *Sunday* is *dies solis*, while the Teutonic gods, after whom other days are named, are those which corresponded respectively most nearly to the Latin gods after whom the days were called. The influence of Latin, then, which soon after their migration from the continent was to be exercised upon the language of the English, and in one or other way was to continue to operate until the present day, might already have been

traced in the speech of those by whom the migration was made.

3. And it was not to Latin only that this speech was indebted. With others than the Romans the early Teutons had been in contact, with a race which was found not only in Britain, but on the continent—the Celts; and from their speech material had made its way into the vocabularies of Teutonic peoples. From a Celtic source is derived the material, represented in every Teutonic dialect, which in Old English produced *rīce*, power, *rīce*, powerful, and *rīcsian*, to rule; words which, in the case of the noun and adjective, also helped in combination with material found in English to form others, e.g. *biscop-rīce*, a bishop-*rick*, *cyne-rīce*, a kingdom, *heofon-rīce*, the kingdom of heaven, *sige-rīce*, victorious. Many proper names contain this material, so that not only in bishop-*rick*, but also in names like Freder*ick* and Roder*ick*, is the trace of the early borrowing yet to be seen. Another case of borrowed material, spread as widely as the preceding among Teutonic dialects, is furnished by words connected with a Celtic form which in a Latin dress, *ambactus*, is given by Caesar[1]. Old English shews *ambeht*, alone and in compounds, and German still keeps *amt*, both words expressing the idea of service[2].

Loan-words from Celtic.

In the case of Celtic, as in the case of Latin, the traces of early influence are slight in comparison with those left by later contact, which, thanks to the conditions under which English developed, has been in the case of each language practically continuous, since Britain, once a Roman province with a native Celtic population, passed into the power of the English.

[1] Speaking of the knights of Gaul he says: 'Atque eorum ut quisque est genere copiisque amplissimus, ita plurimos circum se *ambactos* clientesque habet.' And Festus says: '*Ambactus* lingua Gallica servus appellatur.'

[2] In *rich* and *embassy* Modern English has words which have the same origin as have Old English *rīce* and *ambeht*, but which have come to it from Romance languages.

But something will have been gained in respect to our knowledge of the language which the Teutonic invaders of Britain brought with them, if we can recognise in the vocabulary inherited from them by their descendants words borrowed by their forefathers from the Latin or the Celtic of the continent.

Celtic Britain as a Roman province: results as regards language.

4. As has just been said, in coming to Britain the invaders were bringing their language within reach of Latin and Celtic influence. The island had been visited by Julius Caesar in 55 B.C. and again in 54 B.C., but had not, like Gaul, been conquered; it was not till towards the close of the next century that a Roman province was established in it. With the Roman conquest came Roman civilization, of which the traces may still be seen in the remains of villas and of the great military roads—*streets*—which were constructed in different parts of the country. The map, too, still offers evidence of the Roman occupation in the numerous place-names containing Latin elements (e.g. those with *-caster*, *-cester*, *-chester*, the Latin *castra*), which may be found in it. But it was not only by such material results that the Roman influence was marked. Latin learning came in the train of the conquerors, and apt scholars seem to have been found among the conquered, for we hear of Britons excelling in eloquence their neighbours of Gaul. But in their latest acquired and remotest western province the Romans seem not to have effected the transformation which they wrought elsewhere, and consequently the language conditions of Britain offer a contrast with, for example, those of Gaul. There in the first century of the Christian era a form of Latin was the current speech of nearly the whole country; the original Celtic was preserved only in certain districts: it was a form of Latin, then, containing some few words adopted from Celtic, with which the Teutonic conquerors of Gaul were brought into contact. It was otherwise in Britain, as the prolonged life of Celtic shews. For an

account of the relations between the two co-existent speeches we may turn to Dr Freeman: 'I think that most likely things were then much the same in all Britain as they are in Wales now. In Wales English is the language of the towns, and in the large towns most people cannot speak Welsh at all. And a Welsh gentleman can very seldom speak Welsh, unless he has learned it, as he may have learned French or German. But the country people commonly speak Welsh, and some of them cannot speak any English. So I fancy that in these times men spoke Latin in the towns, and also those whom we may call the gentry spoke Latin, but that the country people still spoke Welsh.' The withdrawal of the Romans gave the Celtic speech an opportunity of resuming its position as the general language of the country; it was, then, a Celtic speech, in which some few words had been left by the Roman occupation, with which the Teutonic invaders of Britain were brought into contact.

5. The importance for the later condition of language in England of the conditions there, that preceded the appearance of the English, is suggested by a further consideration of the case of Gaul. There, though the language still bears, as does our own, the name of a Teutonic people, it is almost exclusively derived from the language which was current in the country where that Teutonic people settled; and *French* is a *Romance* speech. In Britain, whose history, in the successive conquests by Romans and Teutons of lands occupied in the first instance by Celts, offers a parallel to that of Gaul, the English found other conditions than did the Franks, and such as were powerless to determine the fate of their language; and *English* is a *Teutonic* speech.

Contrast with Gaul.

6. The Latin material, then, from which English on its arrival in Britain could draw, was not the vocabulary of a language which owed almost everything to the Romans, but a limited number of words, which had been retained by the Celts. The extent to

Latin of the First Period.

which English was indebted to such material, is not very easy exactly to determine; for, as has been noticed, some Latin words were probably already known to the English when they left the continent. Thus though the Roman roads might keep their name among the English, and the use of the term *street* in reference to them might be regarded as a result of the Roman occupation, yet the word was one which probably the English knew before they saw the Roman roads of Britain. And so with some other words. On the other hand *ceaster*, a town, from Latin *castra*, seems to have been learnt in this country. But whether gained in the old or in the new home, the earliest Latin element in English, which may be called *Latin of the First Period*, was not of any great extent, and need not be further separated from the larger element which was introduced after the acceptance of Christianity.

Celtic influence.

7. As regards the other of the influences to which English on its arrival was to be exposed—the Celtic—it was not a case where, as with Latin, the results must necessarily be limited by reason of scanty material, but one where the results were to depend upon the ability of the conquered to press their language upon the conquerors. Though the main object of the chapter is to take account of matters which are preliminary to the coming of the English, on the one hand of modifications in their language which had taken place on the continent, and on the other of the conditions in Britain which might affect them on their arrival, yet it may be convenient to notice here the results in later times, which came from the continued contact of the Celts with the English.

Relations between the Celts and the English.

8. The relations prevailing from the outset between the Celts and the English were not such as to make it probable that the language of the former would influence strongly that of the latter. The English were the victors, and though the whole island did not at once fall under their power, yet the area of conquest

was steadily enlarged, and the main Celtic-speaking population was rolled back steadily westward. Between the two races, in so far as they occupied different parts of the country, hostility for the most part prevailed; and those of the conquered who were to be found within the English area could not shew, as a counterpoise to inferior strength, superiority in other directions, which, meeting with acknowledgment, would have compelled the respect of the conquerors. So while the Romanized Celt of Gaul gave the language, which, with much else, he had learnt from Rome, to his Frank conqueror, the Celt of Britain was almost powerless to affect the language of the English. Yet there was one possible channel by which the Celtic influence might have been communicated. Christianity had been introduced into Britain, and if it had been first taught to the English by the Celts, the relations between the two peoples might have been much modified. But how completely this modifying influence was absent may be seen from the attitude of the British bishops in the conference with Augustine, when he invited them to cooperate with the Roman missionaries in the conversion of the English, who at the close of the 6th century were still heathen[1]. Celtic teachers had indeed much to do with the English, as will be noticed later, when once Christianity had been introduced, but this was a very different thing from the acceptance of Christianity in the first instance from the Celts.

9. From another quarter we may perhaps get a suggestion as to the relations between the two peoples, from the name, still familiar to us in *Wales* and *Welsh*, which the English gave to the Celts—*Walas* or Bret-*Walas*[2]. The word (in the singular *walh* or *wealh*), which in the first instance seems to have come from the

The origin of the word *Wales*.

[1] Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, Bk II. c. 2.

[2] e.g. in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under the year 465: 'Hengest and Æsc gefuhton wiþ *Walas*, and xii *Wilisce* aldormenn ofslogon'; and 552, 'Cynric gefeaht wiþ Brettas, and þa Bret-*Walas* gefliemde.'

name of a Celtic people, got the more general sense of *foreign*, and so in O.H. German *Walah* can translate *Romanus* (cf. German *wälsch* = Italian, strange), while in Old English *barbarus* is glossed by *walch*. But in the latter *wealh* can also translate *servus* and *mancipium*, and *ancilla* is rendered by a feminine noun from the same root, *wieln*. That the English could use the word that served as a name for the Celts to translate, on the one hand *barbarus*, on the other *servus*, is at least not inconsistent with an unfriendly relation between the two races where they were separate, and with the dependent position of one of them where there was amalgamation.

Where the Celtic population was amalgamated with the English, there the language of the latter prevailed; but where the Celts maintained themselves in separation, there the old language held its ground, and ever since has existed alongside English with the consequent possibility of making some mark upon its neighbour. The area from which the influence might come, however, has been a steadily diminishing one. In the north Cumberland, though its name points to the Cymry, has long ceased to be a land of Celtic speech. In the south Cornwall, the old Corn-*Wealas*[1], where again the name still points to the Welsh, kept the native speech longer, but there, too, at the close of the 18th century it died out. Even in Wales English has encroached upon the border counties, though there Welsh still lives in its old home.

The divisions of the Celtic stock.

10. Prominence so far has been given to one division of the Celtic stock—the Cymric—with which English came first in contact; this includes the Welsh and Cornish. The other division—the Gadhelic or Goidelic includes Irish, Manx and Gaelic, and with this division also English is concerned; though neither from the one nor from the other has it at any time borrowed much.

[1] A. S. Chron. an. 997: 'On þissum geare ferde se here abutan Defnanscire, and gehergodon ægðer on *Cornwealum* ge on Norðwalum (*Wales*).'

11. Before the close of the 11th century the following words, which from their likeness to Celtic forms might be supposed of Celtic origin, are found in the language: *Bannuc* (translating *buccella*), *bin* a manger, *bratt* a cloak, *brocc* a badger, *crocca* a pot, *cumb* a coomb, *dalc* a pin, brooch, *dry* a wizard, *dun* dun (adj.), *dūn* a hill, down, *gafeloc* a javelin, *mattoc* a mattock, *slōh* a slough: and in the Northumbrian dialect occur *carr* a stone, *luh* a loch. Further, *assa* an ass may be borrowed from the Old Irish *assan*, which comes from Latin. From the true list of Celtic borrowings perhaps one or other of these words might be excluded, and in it possibly one or two words besides these ought to be included. Whether or no the list given err either by excess or by defect, however, matters comparatively little; in any case the conclusion would be the same—that there is a very small Celtic element to be found in the oldest English.

Earliest borrowings from Celtic.

12. Nor does the literature of a later time, when the language was no longer distinguished by the freedom from foreign elements which is a mark of the earliest period, shew much more readiness in the admission of Celtic words. Professor Skeat (*Principles of English Etymology*, Chap. xxii.) gives as the principal contributions of the several Celtic speeches to English in later times the following lists:

Later borrowings.

Irish. *Bard*, *bog*, *brogue*, *dirk*(?), *fun*, *galloglass*, *galore*, *glib*, s., *kern*, *lough*, *orrery*, *pillion*(?), *rapparee*, *shillelagh*, *skain* (*skene*, *skein*), *shamrock*, *spalpeen*, *tanist*, *Tory*, *usquebaugh*.

Scotch Gaelic. *Banshee* (also Irish), *Beltane*, *bog* (also Irish), *branks*, *brose*, *cairn*, *capercailyie*, *cateran*, *clachan*, *clan*, *claymore*, *collie*, *coronach*, *corrie*, *cosy*, *crag*, *creel*, *galloway* (pony), *gillie*, *glen*, *gowan*, *inch*, *ingle*, *kail*, *loch*, *macintosh*, *philibeg*, *pibroch*, *plaid*, *ptarmigan*(?), *quaff*, *reel*, *slogan*, *spate*, *spleuchan*, *sporran*, *strath*, *whiskey*. Professor Skeat remarks in reference to the above lists: 'We may draw two conclusions; that the

English has borrowed more freely from Gaelic than from Irish, and that the borrowing began at an earlier time. 'This is the natural consequence of the respective geographical positions and political relations of Scotland and Ireland to England. We should also bear in mind that *clan*, *ingle*, *kail*, and *plaid* are ultimately of Latin origin, from *planta*, *ignis*, *caulis*, and *pellis*; whilst *brose*, *pibroch* are really of English origin, from *broth* and *pipe*; and *branks* is really northern English, borrowed probably from Holland.'

Welsh. *Bragget*, *cam*, *clutter* (heap), *coble* (?), *coracle*, *cromlech*, *crowd* (a fiddle), *flannel*, *flummery*, *hawk* (to clear the throat), *ken*, *kibe*, *kick*, *metheglin*.

Whether there may be words in English of Celtic origin, though they cannot, like those given above, be precisely traced to any *one* of the three languages, Irish, Gaelic, or Welsh, is a difficult question. 'Amongst the words,' says Professor Skeat in the chapter already quoted, 'which perhaps have the most claim to be considered as Celtic, or founded upon Celtic, are some of which the origin is very obscure. It may suffice to mention here the words *bald*, *bat* (thick stick), *boggle*, *bots*, *brag*, *bran*, *brat*, *brill*, *brisk*, *bug*, *bump*, *cabin*, *char* (fish), *chert*, *clock* (orig. a bell), *cob*, *cobble*, *cock* (small boat), *coot*, *cub*, *Culdee*, *curd*, *cut*, *dad*, *dandriff*, *darn*, *drudge*, *dudgeon* (ill humour), *gag* (?), *gown*, *gyves*, *jag*, *knag*, *lad*, *lag*, *lass* (?), *loop*, *lubber*, *mug*, *noggin*, *nook*, *pilchard* (?), *pony*, *puck*, *pug*, *rub*, *shog*, *skip*, *taper*, *whin*. As to some of these there does not seem to be much known. I wish to say distinctly that I feel I am here treading on dangerous and uncertain ground, and that I particularly wish to avoid expressing myself with *certainty* as to most of these words.'

With respect to these lists it may be remarked, as was done in speaking of the borrowings in the earlier times, that for our purpose their main value does not depend upon their being exact. For even allowing that there is some uncertainty as to their contents, there is no uncertainty in the conclusion that

may be drawn from them, viz. that Celtic has only very slightly at any time influenced the vocabulary of English.

13. But though an English dictionary can shew little material that is to be traced to the languages of those who once held these islands, yet in one special case—that of geographical names—it is from the early inhabitants that many words come, which are still used where English is spoken. Among these, and perhaps the most remarkable of them, are the names of nearly all our rivers, e.g. Thames, Avon, Ouse, Don, Cam. That the Celtic influence is strongly marked in other cases may be seen from the following table, quoted from Mr Taylor's *Words and Places*, where the names in certain districts of villages, hamlets, hills, woods, and valleys are dealt with:

Geographical names from Celtic.

Percentage of Names from the	Suffolk	Surrey	Devon	Cornwall	Monmouth	Isle of Man	Ireland
Celtic	2	8	32	80	76	59	80
Anglo-Saxon	90	91	65	20	24	20	19
Norse	8	1	3	0	0	21	1

It is in such words alone that any strong mark has been left by the language of those who have steadily yielded to the pressure of stronger races, until almost the only home for their speech is to be found in the western parts of the western outpost of Europe—the British isles.

CHAPTER IV.

The Saxon Shore—the Saxons as sea-men—their character in the fifth century—abandonment of sea-faring life after settlement in Britain—influence of the earlier life to be seen in Old English—words denoting *water, ships, seamen, sea-faring*—inference from such words—Teutonic conquests in Britain—Bede's account—notices in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle—bearing of these upon language—possibility of other tribes than those mentioned by Bede having taken part in the conquest—the Angles give the name to the language and the land—the Jutes.

The Saxon Shore.

1. In the preceding chapter the condition of the Roman province of Britain has been shortly noticed with reference to the influences that might be exerted upon the language of those who were to be the successors of the Romans in the conquest of the island. Already before the empire had relinquished its remotest western province, the name of those successors was known in the land that later they were to occupy, and the connection in which it occurs is significant. In a description of the Roman Empire, 'Notitia utriusque Imperii,' drawn up about 400 A.D., an official is spoken of with the title 'Comes Limitis Saxonici per Britanniam,' or 'Comes Littoris Saxonici per Britannias.' The district, for whose defence he had to provide, lay along the east and south coasts, from the Wash to Southampton Water, and seems to have got its name from its liability to be attacked by those who, at a yet earlier period, are said to have infested the

neighbouring seas[1]. It is, then, in the character of sea-rovers, in which they strongly resemble the northern races from whom their descendants were to suffer so much, that the Saxons first present themselves; and this is a point that it may be well to notice, as having a bearing upon the language, seeing that a speech must more or less shew the impress of the life of those who speak it. And though, after their settlement in Britain, the energies of the Saxons were diverted from the sea to the land, and directed to the establishment and extension of their power within the island, yet we may expect to find that the old life had left its traces in the language in the shape of words connected with nautical matters. Of the old sea-life, then, we may try to learn something.

The Saxons and the sea. Their character in the fifth century.

2. In the second century after Christ the geographer Ptolemy mentions Saxons; it is by the sea that he places them, by the mouth of the Elbe, and on three islands. Before the end of the next century they are seen to have taken advantage of their position and to have become so formidable on account of their piratical expeditions, that a fleet had to be stationed in the Channel to resist them[2]. In 364 they are said to have attacked Britain, and from that time onwards their raids were probably more or less continuous, until the island fell into their power. Their history seems to be very similar to, and consequently may receive illustration from, the better known one of the later Scandinavians; in each there is the development of a power that owed its strength largely to skill at sea, and that, after using this skill for the acquisition of plunder, at last found itself strong enough to make permanent conquest. And the parallel between the Saxon and the Dane seems to hold in respect to their characters; and again the

[1] 'Cum Carausius (afterwards 'tyrant' in Britain from 286 to 293) per tractum Belgicae et Armoricae pacandum mare accepisset, quod Franci et *Saxones infestabant*.' Eutropius.

[2] v. preceding note.

better known picture of the Dane may help to supply details in the less familiar picture of the Saxon. At any rate the main outlines seem the same in both, if the following account of the Saxon of the 5th century be compared with what we know of the Dane from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and elsewhere. A Roman provincial, Sidonius Apollinaris (born 430 A.D.), writing to a friend, who had embarked as an officer in the Channel fleet, which was looking out for the pirate-boats of the Saxons, says: 'When you see their rowers, you may make up your mind that every one of them is an arch pirate, with such wonderful unanimity do all of them at once command, obey, teach, and learn their business of brigandage. This is why I have to warn you to be more than ever on your guard in this warfare. Your foe is of all foes the fiercest[1]. He attacks unexpectedly; if you expect him, he makes his escape; he despises those who seek to block his path; he overthrows those who are off their guard; he cuts off any enemy whom he follows; while, for himself, he never fails to escape when he is forced to fly. And more than this, to these men a shipwreck is a school of seamanship rather than a matter of dread. They know the dangers of the deep like men who are every day in contact with them. For since a storm throws those whom they wish to attack off their guard, while it hinders their own coming onset from being seen from afar, they gladly risk themselves in the midst of wrecks and sea-beaten rocks in the hope of making profit out of the very tempest[2].'

Seafaring abandoned after settlement in Britain.

3. The sea-faring life, however, seems to have been abandoned by the Saxons after they had settled in England; for when the piracy of the earlier times was repeated in later times by the Danes, the English, like other nations, seem to have been quite unprepared to offer resistance on the sea, though more readily than others, as is seen particularly in

[1] 'Hostis est omni hoste truculentior.'

[2] Green's *Making of England*, pp. 16—17.

Alfred's reign, they adopted the necessary means for meeting the Danes on their own element[1].

4. But it is with the language of the Saxons that we are concerned, and it is, mainly, because the life of the speaker is inseparable from his speech, that the points just noticed have been introduced. They shew conditions of life, which imply in the language of the times before the coming to Britain a vocabulary rich in terms connected with the sea, but which, at any rate for some centuries after the coming, do not suggest the development of the language in respect to such terms. We may now try to see whether the language, as we know it from its earliest specimens, in its condition as regards its nautical vocabulary, is still the language of the old Saxon sea-rover, and not merely that of the dweller in England, or of the seaman of a later time; whether the language of Alfred still reflects the life of the fifth century Saxon. Apart from their bearing on the early history of the language, terms connected with the sea perhaps have a general interest, which may justify a special notice.

Traces of the earlier life to be seen in the later language.

5. We may begin with words denoting water, among which we have *wæter* water, *ēa* a river, *flōd* flood, *flot* (a-)float, *lagu* sea, water, *mere* mere, sea, *sǣ* sea, *wīdsǣ* ocean, *strēam* stream, *wāg* wave, *ȳþ* wave. These words, however, are too widely spread among Teutonic speeches to allow of any special inference with regard to any one set of speakers. But besides these English had *brim* sea, ocean, a form which is not found elsewhere, except it be in Icelandic *brim* surf; *geofon* ocean, found besides only in O. Sax. *gefan*; *holm* water, ocean, not found elsewhere in this sense; *gārsecg* ocean, not found elsewhere; and *hæf* sea (Icel. *haf*), occurs in Beowulf. It is not, however, on the number of words in this list that stress need be laid, but on the development in the poetical vocabulary that is got by the combination of such words. Thus in poetry are found the following compounds

Words denoting water.

[1] v. Steenstrup's *Vikingetogene mod Vest i det 9de Aarhundrede*, c. 14.

wæter-flōd, *wæter-strēam*, *wæter-ȳþ*, *ēa-strēam*, *flōd-ȳþ*, *lagu-flōd*, *lagu-strēam*, *mere-flōd*, *mere-strēam*, *sǣ-flōd*, *sǣ-holm*, *sǣ-strēam*, *sǣ-wāg*, *sǣ-ȳþ*, *wāg-holm*, *wæg-strēam*, *ȳþ mere*, *brim-flōd*, *brim-strēam*, *geofon-flōd*, *geofon-ȳþ*. Yet more noticeable are the figurative expressions used of the sea; it is called *bæþ-weg* the bath-way, *lagu-fæsten*, *sǣ-fæsten* the water-fastness, the sea-fastness; its tossing waves suggest the terms *ȳþ-gebland* wave-mingling, *ȳþ-gewinn* wave-strife; while from the living creatures that haunt it are derived such names as *hran-mere*, *hwæl-mere* the whale-mere, *hran-rād*, *swan-rād* the road of the whale and of the swan, *seolh-bæþ*, *fisces bæþ*, *ganotes bæþ* the bath of the seal, of the fish, and of the gannet, *hwæles ēþel* the whale's native land.

Words denoting ships.

6. In regard to words which denote the ship and its parts, the language of to-day can bear witness to the state of the early vocabulary, e.g. *ship*, *boat*, *mast*, *sprit*, *yard*, *sail*, *sheet*, *oar*, *rudder*, *helm* are all Old English terms. But here again it is the poetical vocabulary that is remarkable. Besides some simple words, not used in prose, denoting a ship, e.g. *naca*, *fær* (cf. *faran* to go), *lid* (cf. *līþan* to go), there are many compounds which are peculiar to the poetic diction. Some point to the material of which the vessel is made; thus *wudu* is combined with words (many of them already noticed) denoting water, and the terms *brim-wudu*, *flōd-wudu*, *holm-wudu*, *sǣ-wudu*, *sund-wudu* (swimming-wood) are used for the ship; *bord* (board), *þel* (plank) give *wāg-bord*, *ȳþ-bord*, *cēol-þel* (keel-plank), *wāg-þel*. Others refer to the living freight, and the ship is a house, e.g. *geofon-hūs*, *mere-hūs*, *holm-ærn* (*ærn* a house), *ȳþ-hof* (*hof* a house); and Noah's ark is called *mere-cist* (*cist* chest). Others, again, and among these are the most noticeable, express the motion of the ship; it is *sǣ-flota*, *wāg-flota* the sea- or wave-floater, *sǣ-genga* the sea-goer, *brim-*, *mere-*, *wæter-þisa* the sea-dasher; this last epithet may receive illustration from the lines in the poem on St Andrew:

þēos bāt
fareþ fāmigheals fugole gelīcost;
this boat
fares foamy-necked to (sea-)fowl likest;

a simile which occurs also in Beowulf:

flota fāmigheals fugle gelīcost.

But the favourite metaphor is that which makes the ship a steed, *hengest* or *mearh*, and it is called *brim-*, *faroþ-* (shore), *mere-*, *sǣ-*, *sund-*, *wǣg-hengest*, *lagu-*, *sǣ-*, *ȳþ-mearh*.

7. For the seaman, too, the poetry has terms peculiar to it: *brim-mann*; *mere-fara* (cf. sea-*farer*); *brim-*, *ēa-*, *mere-*, *sǣ-*, *wǣg-līþend*; *sǣ-*, *ȳþ-lida*; and for his course upon the water there are many names: *brim-*, *ēa-*, *lagu*, *mere-*, *sǣ-*, *ȳþ-lād* (*lād* a way, course); *strēam-rād* (*rād* a road); *lagu-*, *sǣ-sīþ* (*sīþ* a journey); *lagu-*, *mere-strēt* (*strēt* a street); *flōd-*, *flot-*, *holm-weg* (*weg* a way).

Words denoting seamen and voyages.

8. Now these illustrations shew in that part of the vocabulary which is connected with sea-terms a fulness that is far more in keeping with the mode of life among the Saxons which preceded, than with that which followed, the settlement in Britain. Among the Saxon sea-rovers there may well have been poets, for as early as the time of Tacitus there were old poems (*antiqua carmina*) among Teutonic peoples. Moreover in favour of the early use of at least some part of the special poetical vocabulary, that has been quoted, it may be noticed that in the Old Saxon poem, the Hēliand, forms occur which are identical with, or parallel to, those in English poetry. Thus among words for water these are common to the two dialects:—*ēa-*, *lagu-*, *mere-*, *sǣ-stream*, *sǣ-ȳþ*; both use for a ship *naca*, and for a sea-man *sǣ-līþend*, *wǣg-līþend*; while O. Sax. uses also a similar compound, not found in English, *lagu-līþend*. There seems, then, some ground for supposing, that much of the material given above was used in the old sea-

Inference drawn from the preceding words.

roving times by the Saxon poets, whose poems were preserved in the memories of following generations, and that in the vocabulary, which was thus handed down to later times, are preserved the traces of the earlier life.

It may be added that, besides illustrating the special point which has been considered, the words that have been given have the further claim to notice, that later on they will serve to illustrate some characteristics of the diction of the earliest English poetry. Moreover, as has been said, in the light of later times the nautical vocabulary of English at any period in the history of the language may claim to be of special interest.

Teutonic settlements in Britain.

9. An attempt has been made to connect the language of the later time with the life of the earlier, for the connection will shew that the language of those earlier times, moulded by the life of its speakers, was transferred with the speakers from Germany to Britain; and there, with no break in its continuity, though gaining a more distinct individuality in its new home, it was to be known during all succeeding stages of its development as English. We may proceed now to notice the circumstances attending the Settlement, to which it was owing that the language in question was the language of this island. The middle of the fifth century was a favourable time for an extension of the operations which the sea-rovers of the continent had been carrying on against Britain. The island had been abandoned by the Romans, and was weakened by intestine war. Under such circumstances Teutonic warriors, with the consent of a British prince, gained a foothold in a part of Britain, where four hundred years later the Scandinavian pirates, whose story in so many respects is like that of the Saxons, are said first to have remained through the winter—in Kent: there, in the case of each, the step preliminary to permanent occupation was taken. For a knowledge of those by whom the occupation in the former case was effected we are mainly indebted

to Bede's Ecclesiastical History and to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle[1], and from these sources we may take the following points as having a bearing upon language. Bede (Bk I. c. 15) says: 'In the year of our Lord 449, Martian being made emperor with Valentinian ruled the empire seven years. Then the nation of the Angles or Saxons...arrived in Britain with three long ships, and had a place assigned them to reside in...in the eastern part of the island.... The fertility of the country and the cowardice of the Britons being known, a more considerable fleet was quickly sent over....Those who came over were of the three most powerful nations of Germany—Saxons, Angles and Jutes. From the Jutes are descended the people of Kent, and of the Isle of Wight, and those also in the province of the West-Saxons who are to this day called Jutes, seated opposite to the Isle of Wight. From the Saxons, that is, the country which is now called of the Old Saxons, came the East-Saxons, the South-Saxons, and the West-Saxons. From the Angles, that is, the country which is called "Angulus[2]," and which is said to remain desert to this day, between the provinces of the Jutes and Saxons, are descended the East-Angles, the Midland-Angles, the Mercians, all the race of the Northumbrians, that is, of those nations that dwell on the North side of the river Humber, and other nations of the English.' From the Chronicle, which incorporates this chapter of Bede in an abridged form, additional dates may be gained. Thus under the year 477 occurs the notice of the coming of the Saxons who afterwards were known as the South-Saxons (Sussex); under 495 the coming of

Bede's Ecclesiastical History, Bk i. c. 15.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

[1] Neither authority is contemporary with the events described, but Bede (d. 735), as will be seen from the account he gives of his method of collecting the materials for his history, represents the best information of his time, and no tradition seems to have remained that contradicts his statements.

[2] Cp. Alfred's Orosius: 'Þæt lond þe mon *Ongle* hæt.'

another body of Saxons, the founders of Wessex, is mentioned, and with regard to the Angles it is recorded that Ida assumed royal power in Northumbria in 547. For the settlements of those Saxons who were afterwards known as the East-Saxons (Essex), and of the Angles, both those of Norfolk (Norþ-folc) and Suffolk (Sūþ-folc) and those of Deira, no dates are given, but they must have been made before Ida's kingship in Bernicia.

Bearing of the preceding accounts on language.

10. We may now consider the bearing of the information got from Bede and the Chronicle upon the history of the language. It fixes a date for the arrival of the first band of Teutons, and shews that within about a hundred years of that date all the immigrant bands had established their settlements in the country; consequently within that century the history of the English language in England had fairly begun. Further these immigrant bands were drawn from different tribes, occupying different, though adjacent, territories on the continent, consequently it was not a uniform speech that they brought, but several closely connected forms of speech. The different tribes, too, settled in different parts of the country, and their early distribution is to be remembered in connection with later times, when the great division of Northern, Midland, and Southern, in the last of which is found a strongly marked Kentish form, is distinguishable among English dialects.

Perhaps Frisians took part in the Conquest.

11. The variety of elements among the invaders may have been greater than is indicated by Bede's account, and there may have been contingents from other tribes than the three he mentions. For instance the Frisians[1], whose language shews the near relationship of its speakers to the English, may have contributed to the invading forces. But if we may judge by the

[1] Procopius (6th cent.) says that Britain was occupied by Angles, Britons, and *Frisians*.

names on the map, it was certainly the Angles and the Saxons who had the greatest share in the conquest of Britain, and while no district bears a name that points to the Frisians, the names of both Saxons and Angles may still be seen; Essex, Middlesex, Sussex, Wessex still preserve the one, England and East Anglia the other.

12. While speaking of names that still bear witness to the conquerors of Britain it may be noticed that neither the country nor the language is called after that division of them, whose royal family in the end became supreme, and in whose dialect is written almost all the oldest literature: the land is England (Engla land), not Sax-land or Saxony, the language is English not Sexish. But the early political importance of the Angles is seen in the case of a king like Edwin of Northumbria as compared with his contemporary Cwichelm of Wessex, and their early literary distinction is illustrated by the names of Cædmon and Bede, the one the first English poet whose name we know, the other one of the greatest, if not the greatest, of the native scholars. Another circumstance may perhaps have helped to give currency to the Angle name. According to the story (told, for instance, in Ælfric's homily on Gregory) it was Angle captives in the Roman slave market that aroused the interest of the future pope, and it was thus the Angle race with which the island was associated in the minds of the Latin missionaries. If to them the land was Anglia, their influence might have helped to establish the name of the Angles as that from which the name of the whole country should be derived.

The Angles give the name to the land and to the language.

13. Two out of the three peoples mentioned by Bede have written their names indelibly on the map of England; with the third it has been otherwise. As late as the beginning of the 8th century, there were, according to Bede, men in Wessex who were known as of the race of the Jutes, and the men of Kent were of the same stock. But

The Jutes.

the former were absorbed by the Saxons; and the opportunity for preserving the name of the Jutes, as that of the Saxons was preserved by their neighbours of Essex and Sussex, was neglected by the latter, who retained the Celtic appellation for the district, which was the first to fall into the hands of the Teutons. And though at the end of the 6th century the kingdom of Kent was powerful, yet, having the Saxons upon its borders, it was unable to expand as did the Angle and Saxon powers, who could extend their territories at the expense of the Celts; and the Jutes, though the first to appear upon the scène, in the end play only a subordinate part. There is, however, one point in reference to them, which as having a possible bearing upon language, seems to call for notice. According to Bede their old home was to the north of the district occupied by the Angles, in the peninsula of Jutland. Jutland at a later time was Danish. The point to be considered, then, is whether the speech of the Jutes was a Scandinavian one. Now in the 9th century and later many Danes settled in England, and of their settlements left many evident marks in local names, e.g. in those which contain the termination *-by*. If the language of the Jutes were very closely connected with that of the Danes, we might expect to find in the districts occupied by them similar traces; but Kent does not shew such names. We may suppose, then, that the language of the Jutes was nearer to that of the Saxons than to that of the Danes; so that the main dialects introduced into Britain by the immigrants were of the same division of the Teutonic stock, and between the various forms of speech there were no such great differences, as to make it probable that if a fusion of the several elements should be effected it would be (compare for instance the case of French and English after the Norman Conquest) at the expense of extensive change.

But the Teutonic speeches which had thus found a new home were not left long to develop under such influences alone

as had their sources within the island. Fifty years after (to use the expression of the Chronicle) 'Ida feng to rice,' the landing of Augustine took place, and with it began a period in which once more the language of Rome could influence language in Britain. To trace such influence will be the work of the following chapter.

CHAPTER V.

The position of the Teutons in Britain secured before the end of the 6th century—the coming of Christianity to England—its spread—a measure of its influence on the language—learning in England before the end of the 8th century—libraries—learning among the Celts and its relation to the English—the decay of learning in the 9th century described by Alfred—his attempts to promote education—revival of learning in the 10th century—Dunstan—Ælfric—Latin charters—absence of foreign material in the language before the Norman Conquest—the larger knowledge of the English due to Christianity—the consequent change of the language.

The assured position of the Teutonic settlements in Britain in the 6th century.

1. It has been seen in the last chapter that before the end of the 6th century the eastern side of Britain as far north as the Firth of Forth had been settled by Teutonic peoples, whose settlements, moreover, were so far secure, that the energies of the settlers were no longer absorbed by struggles with the original inhabitants of the island, but might be directed to the development of the several kingdoms within their own borders, or to conflicts between rival kingdoms. It was at the outset of this career of development that the influence of Christianity was brought to bear upon the English.

The coming of Christianity to England.

2. The incident with which the story of the conversion of the English begins is quite in keeping with the character of the people. Not only was the captive of another race (cf. *wealh* above)

enslaved, but in the struggles between the English themselves the vanquished was at the absolute disposal of the victor; even in Christian times the captor sold his captive[1]. It is not surprising, then, to learn that, probably as a result of war in Northumbria, there were to be found at the close of the 6th century slaves in the Roman market, who had come from Deira. They were seen by Gregory, who, interested by their appearance, engaged in the jesting conversation, which Bede records and which Ælfric repeats[2]. His interest was so much aroused, that he was eager to attempt the conversion of the captives' fellow-countrymen; and though this plan could not be carried out, yet later, after he had become Pope, he sent others to accomplish a task, which he had not been allowed to undertake himself. It was a little before 588 (the date of Ælla's death) that the meeting with the English slaves had taken place, and it was in 596 that the mission, headed by Augustine, started for England. Gregory's missionaries, deterred by what they heard of those whom they were to convert, remained among the Franks, until, encouraged by him, they in 597 crossed the

[1] See the account in Bede's History (book IV. c. 22) of Imma, a follower of the Northumbrian king, Ecgfrith, who after a battle (679) between the Northumbrians and Mercians fell into the hands of a Mercian. The quality of the captive being discovered by the captor the latter says: 'You deserve to die, because all my brothers and relations were killed in the fight, yet I will not put you to death.' In the end Imma was sold in London to a Frisian.

[2] The punning in this instance may be called happy on account of the information it preserves. "Interrogavit, quod esset vocabulum gentis illius. Responsum est, quod *Angli* vocarentur. At ille, 'Bene,' inquit, 'nam et *Angelicam* habent faciem, et tales *Angelorum* in coelis decet esse coheredes. Quod habet nomen ipsa provincia de qua isti sunt adlati?' Responsum est, quod *Deiri* vocarentur iidem provinciales. At ille, 'Bene,' inquit, '*Deiri*, de ira eruti, et ad misericordiam Christi vocati. Rex provinciae illius quomodo appellatur?' Responsum est, quod *Aella* diceretur. At ille adludens ad nomen ait, 'Alleluia, laudem Dei Creatoris illis in partibus oportet cantari.'" Bede's History, bk II. c. 1. See also Thorpe's edition of Ælfric's Homilies, Vol. II. p. 120.

Channel and landed in Kent. Here the conditions were not unfavourable to the success of the undertaking. The power of Kent was at that time considerable[1]. Its king, Ethelbert, had married a French princess, who was a Christian; and as she maintained the practices of her religion, the idea of Christianity could not have been entirely foreign to the king. In any case, not long after Augustine's landing he was brought to profess the new religion; his example naturally found many followers, and Kent, as it had been the first to come under a new political rule, was the first to come under the power of a new religion. The first Christian Church among the English was raised in Kent, and the chief town of the men of Kent—*Cantwara burh*, Canterbury—is still the ecclesiastical capital of England.

3. The influence of Christianity, which thus had begun to be felt in Kent before the close of the 6th century, in the next century gradually was extended to other parts of the country, and the order in which the several parts came under it may be roughly shewn by the following dates:—

The spread of Christianity in England.

In 604 the East Saxons, to whom Augustine had sent Mellitus, were converted[2]; in 627 Edwin of Northumbria was baptized[3], and induced Eorpwald, king of the East Angles, in 632 to follow his example[4]; in 634 Birinus was preaching in

[1] 'Erat eo tempore rex Ædelberctus in Cantia potentissimus, qui ad confinium usque Humbrae fluminis maximi quo Meridiani et Septentrionales Anglorum populi dirimuntur, fines imperii tetenderat.' Bede I. 25.

[2] An. 604. 'Her East-Seaxe onfengon geleafan and fulwihtes bæð' *in this year the East Saxons received the faith and baptism*, A. S. Chron.: Bede II. 3.

[3] An. 627. 'Her Edwine kyning wæs gefulwad mid his þeode on Eastron' *in this year king Edwin was baptized with his people at Easter*, A. S. Chron. See Bede II. 13 for the discussion which preceded the change of faith.

[4] An. 632. 'Her wæs Eorpwald gefulwad,' A. S. Chron. See Bede II. 15 for Edwin's influence.

Wessex, with the result that in 635 Cynegils was baptized, and in 636 Cwichelm, who a few years before had tried to get Edwin assassinated, also accepted baptism[1]; in 653 the Middle Saxons received Christianity[2]; in 655 Penda died, and the Mercians became Christians[3]; and, lastly, in 681 Wilfrid preached successfully to the South Saxons[4]. Within about a hundred years, then, from its introduction by Augustine, Christianity had been accepted by all the English kingdoms.

How the influence of Christianity on the language should be measured.

4. In attempting to estimate the effect upon the language of the converts, that was due to their acceptance of another faith, it will not be enough to make out a list of Latin words, which were taken into the language before the Norman Conquest. Such a list would be a very imperfect measure of the effect in question. For what we want to know is this: How far was English as a medium for the expression of ideas affected by the influences which were due to Christianity? Now while the literature, which preserves the language for us, bears constant witness to such influences, yet from that particular form of change in language, which consists in the adoption of foreign material, the old English is comparatively free—its vocabulary has comparatively but few Latin words. Such change, then, in this case is no measure of the importance of the influence to which it was due. That in early times this kind of change was

[1] An. 634. 'Her Birinus biscop bodude West-Seaxum fulwuht' *in this year bishop Birinus preached baptism to the West Saxons.*

635. 'Her Cynegils wæs gefulwad from Birino.'

636. 'Her Cwichelm wæs gefulwad,' A. S. Chron.

[2] An. 653. 'Her Middel-Seaxe onfengon under Peadan aldormen ryhtne geleafan,' A. S. Chron.

[3] An. 655. 'Her Penda forwearþ, and Mierce wurdon Cristne' *in this year Penda perished* (he was slain by Oswy), *and the Mercians became Christian*, A. S. Chron.

[4] 'Wilfrid...divertens ad provinciam Australium Saxonum, quae...eo adhuc tempore paganis cultibus serviebat, huic verbum fide et lavacrum salutis ministrabat,' Bede IV. 13.

so slight is the more notable, that in later times it has been made to such an extent as to bring about a characteristic contrast between the two stages of the language. That the slightness of the change, however, was not due to want of acquaintance with the sources from which foreign words might have been drawn, will be seen if the state of learning in the early times be shortly noticed.

Learning in England in the 7th century and in the beginning of the 8th.

5. That Latin was studied with success by Englishmen within a century of the landing of Augustine, we have the evidence of Bede, who, speaking of Theodore (ordained archbishop in 668[1]) and his companion Adrian, says: 'As both of them were well read both in sacred and in secular literature, they gathered a crowd of disciples, and there daily flowed from them rivers of knowledge to water the hearts of their hearers; and, together with the books of holy writ, they also taught them the arts of ecclesiastical poetry, astronomy, and arithmetic. A testimony of which is, that there are still living at this day some of their scholars who are as well versed in the Greek and Latin tongues as in their own, in which they were born[2].' Among the scholars for whom such proficiency is claimed, the cases of Tobias, bishop of Rochester (d. 726), and Albinus, who in 708 succeeded Adrian as abbot of the monastery at Canterbury (d. 732), may be cited. Of the former Bede says: 'He was a most learned man; for he was disciple to those teachers of blessed memory, archbishop Theodore and Abbot Adrian, by which means, besides his erudition in ecclesiastical and general literature, he learned both the Latin and Greek tongues to such perfection, that they were as well known and familiar to him as his native language[3].' Of the latter it is said: 'He was so well instructed in the study of the Scriptures, that he knew the Greek tongue to no small

[1] An. 668. 'Her þeodorus mon hadode to ercebiscope,' A. S. Chron.
[2] History, IV. 2. [3] *Ib.* V. 23.

perfection, and the Latin as thoroughly as the English, which was his native language[1].' More distinguished, however, than either of these was Aldhelm, successively abbot of Malmesbury and bishop of Sherborne (d. 709), the author of a Latin poem, *De Laude Virginitatis*, as well as of other Latin works. Of him Bede writes: 'He wrote a notable book on Virginity, which, in imitation of Sedulius, he composed in hexameter verse and prose. He wrote some other books, as being a man most learned in all respects, for he had a pure style, and was wonderful for ecclesiastical and liberal erudition[2].' Even if allowance be made for the exaggeration of panegyric, the terms in which Bede speaks of his contemporaries' attainments will shew, that in the latter part of the 7th and the early part of the 8th century learning flourished in the south of England; while for its condition in the north it may be sufficient to recall the name of Bede. In his case, too, as in that of Aldhelm, it is not report only that has to be trusted; their works remain to shew the quality of their scholarship.

Learning in the north of England before the end of the 8th century.

6. That during the 8th century learning continued to flourish in the north is seen, if another famous English scholar be called as witness. Alcuin, born about the time of Bede's death (735), was educated at York under Egbert (archbishop from 732 to 766) and under Ethelbert, Egbert's successor. Ethelbert, on his accession, appointed Alcuin to the place which he had himself occupied in the school, and entrusted to his care the library belonging to it. Alcuin later lived in France as the friend and counsellor of Charlemagne, and from a letter written in 796 at Tours to the latter we may learn how the English scholar could look back to the favoured conditions of his old home. 'I here feel severely,' he writes, 'the want of those invaluable books of scholastic erudition which I had in my own country, by the kind and most affectionate

[1] History, v. 20. [2] *Ib.* v. 18.

industry of my master, and also in some measure by my own humble labours. Let me therefore propose to your Excellency, that I send over thither some of our youth, who may collect for us all that is necessary, and bring back with them into France the flowers of Britain.'

Libraries in England before the end of the 8th century.

7. It was very soon after the coming of Augustine that such flowers began to make their appearance in Britain. In 601 Gregory, when despatching Mellitus and others to England, sent with them many books[1]. And the English themselves took care that their number should be increased. Acca, bishop of Hexham (709), by his diligence as a collector, formed a considerable library[2]. Benedict Biscop, abbot of Wearmouth, Bede's master, made five journeys to the continent, with the result that a numerous collection of books was to be found in the monastery, where Bede, speaking of himself, says, 'I was given, at seven years of age, to be educated by the most reverend abbot Benedict; and spending there all the remaining time of my life, I wholly applied myself to the study of Scripture.' The same diligence was shewn by Egbert, as we are told by his scholar Alcuin[3]; from whom we may learn also, in part at least, what 'flowers of Britain' were to be found at York. His lines, dealing with the books there, as giving a catalogue, though an imperfect one, of one of the best libraries in England in the 8th century may be quoted here:

> Illic invenies veterum vestigia patrum,
> quidquid habet pro se latio Romanus in orbe;

[1] 'Gregorius misit...codices plurimos,' Bede I. 29.

[2] 'Acca...historias passionis martyrum, una cum caeteris ecclesiasticis voluminibus, summa industria congregans, amplissimam ac nobilissimam bibliothecam fecit,' *ib.* V. 20.

[3] Alcuin, in one of his poems, says of Egbert:

> 'Non semel externas peregrino tramite terras
> jam peragravit ovans, sophiae ductus amore;
> si quid forte novi librorum aut studiorum
> quod secum ferret, terris reperiret in illis.'

Graecia vel quidquid transmisit clara latinis;
Hebraicus vel quod populus bibit ore superno;
Africa lucifluo vel quidquid lumine sparsit.
Quod pater Hieronymus, quod sensit Hilarius, atque
Ambrosius praesul, simul Augustinus, et ipse
Sanctus Athanasius, quod Orosius edit avitus,
quidquid Gregorius summus docet, et Leo papa:
Basilius quidquid, Fulgentius atque coruscant.
Cassiodorus item, Chrysostomus atque Ioannes.
Quidquid et Athelmus docuit, quod Beda magister,
quae Victorinus scripsere, Boetius, atque
historici veteres, Pompeius, Plinius, ipse
acer Aristoteles, rhetor quoque Tullius ingens:
quid quoque Sedulius, vel quid canit ipse Iuvencus,
Alcuinus et Clemens, Prosper, Paulinus, Arator,
quid Fortunatus vel quid Lactantius edunt,
quae Maro Virgilius, Statius, Lucanus, et auctor
artis grammaticae, vel quid scripsere magistri,
quid Probus atque Phocas, Donatus, Priscianusve,
Servius, Euticius, Pompeius, Comminianus.
Invenies alios perplures.

8. In speaking of learning in England in these early times it should not be forgotten that it was not to the continent only that the English were indebted for their teaching. To the Celtic Christians of both Scotland and Ireland the English, especially in the north, after they had accepted Christianity owed much. It was to the Scots, among whom he had lived in banishment, that Oswald of Northumbria appealed[1], when he needed a bishop; and in response Aidan came from Iona (635), a man whose 'course of life was so different from the slothfulness of our times, that all those who bore him company, whether they were shorn monks or laymen, were employed in meditation, that is, either in reading the Scriptures, or learning psalms,' and who 'if it happened, which was but seldom, that he was invited to eat with the king, went with one or two clerks, and having taken a small repast, made haste to be gone with them,

Learning among Celtic Christians in its relation to the English.

[1] Bede III. 3.

either to read or write[1].' In Mercia, too, there were ecclesiastics of Scottish race. From Ireland Fursey, who 'from his boyish years had particularly applied himself to reading sacred books[2],' came to settle among the East Angles. In the land he had left were to be found scholars learned alike in sacred and profane literature[3], and many repaired thither to enjoy the benefits of their teaching. In speaking of a pestilence which raged in Ireland (664) Bede notes: 'Many of the nobility, and of the lower ranks of the English nation, were there at that time, who retired thither for the sake of Divine studies; and some of them chose to apply themselves to study, going about from one master's cell to another. The Irish willingly received them all, and took care to supply them with food, as also to furnish them with books to read, and their teaching, gratis[4].'

The knowledge of Latin did not lead to the introduction of foreign material into English.

9. These few notices may be sufficient to illustrate the point, that before 800 there was enough knowledge of Latin among English scholars to enable them, if they had wished, to adopt into the native language Latin words; that, consequently, it was not to the unfamiliarity of English scholars with Latin in the times which precede those to which the earliest specimens of English literature belong, that the language of that literature owes its freedom from foreign material, a freedom which makes the earliest stage of English so great a contrast with later stages, when knowledge of other

[1] Bede III. 5. [2] *Ib.* III. 19.

[3] At the time of the mortality (642) the infection reached a certain scholar (in Ireland), a man *learned in worldly literature*, *ib.* III. 13.

[4] *Ib.* III. 27. Bede mentions by name 'two youths of great capacity, of the English nobility,' Ethelhun and Egbert, as cases in point, and adds that their example was followed later by a brother of the former, who, after studying in Ireland, returned to England and became bishop of Lindsey. Another instance of study in Ireland is that of 'Agilbert, by nation a Frenchman, but who had lived a long time in Ireland, for the purpose of reading the Scriptures.' *Ib.* III. 7.

languages was followed by wholesale borrowing from them. Had the study of Latin been uninterruptedly pursued with the diligence of the early scholars, the result, perhaps, would have been different. But at the time when Alcuin was writing to Charlemagne the letter quoted above, Danish ships had already appeared off the English coast, and the 9th century saw, very largely in consequence of the Danish attacks, the decay of learning in England. What the condition of the country in the 9th century was, how painful a contrast with that of earlier times, may be told in Alfred's own words. 'It has very often come into my mind,' he writes in the preface to his translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, 'what wise men there formerly were throughout England, both of sacred and of secular orders; and how happy times there were then throughout England; and how the kings...prospered both in war and in wisdom; and also the sacred orders how zealous they were both in teaching and learning;...and how foreigners came to this land in search of wisdom and teaching, and how we should now have to get them from abroad, if we were to have them. So clean had learning fallen away in England, that there were very few on this side the Humber who could understand their rituals in English or translate a letter from Latin into English; and I believe that there were not many beyond the Humber. There were so few of them, that I cannot remember a single one south of the Thames, when I came to the throne....I remembered also how I saw, before it had all been ravaged and burnt, how the churches throughout all England stood filled with treasures and books, and there was also a great many of God's servants; but they got very little good from the books, for they could not understand anything of them, for they were not written in their own language. As if they had said, "Our forefathers loved wisdom, and through it they got wealth and left to us. Their track may still be seen here, but we cannot follow it out, and so we have lost both the wealth and the

Learning in the 9th century. Testimony of Alfred.

wisdom." When I remembered all this I wondered very greatly at the good and wise men who were formerly throughout England, and had completely learned all the books, that they had not wished to turn any part of them into their own language. But at once I answered myself and said: "They did not suppose that men were ever to become so careless, and learning so to fall away; from that desire they left it alone, and wished that the more wisdom might be in the land, the more languages we knew."'

Alfred's attempts to promote education.

10. Where Alfred recognised an evil, an attempt on the first opportunity to remedy it naturally followed. From the same Preface it may be seen that better times had already begun. He had found scholars to help him in his translation, which was made 'as I had learned from Plegmund my archbishop, and from Asser my bishop, and from Grimbold my masspriest, and from John my masspriest'; he could thank God that 'we now have any provision of teachers': and he could propose a scheme of education for his people. 'It seems to me better, if it seems so to you (the bishop to whom the copy of the translation was sent), that we turn into the language that we all know, some books which are most needful for all to know, and cause, as we easily may with God's help, if we have tranquillity, that all the youth now in England of free men and of sufficient means be put to learning while they are not fit for any other employment, until the time that they can read English well; and let those be further taught in Latin for whom further teaching is wished, and who are to be promoted to a higher rank.'

Revival of learning in the 10th century.

11. The more settled times of the 10th century allowed the hopes of Alfred to be to some extent realized, and the study of Latin was once more successfully prosecuted. According to Ælfric (c. 1000) this was largely owing to Dunstan (b. 925). In the preface to his grammar Ælfric refers to the necessity of teaching the young, 'so that holy lore in our days may not grow cold and

faint, as happened in England some few years ago, so that no English priest could compose or expound a letter in Latin, until Archbishop Dunstan and Bishop Æthelwold[1] established that teaching in monasteries.' It was for the youth of the monastic schools that the grammar was intended[2], and the teaching of Latin may be further illustrated by the Latin Colloquy, with its interlinear English gloss, which goes under Ælfric's name[3], and by the Latin-English vocabulary which generally follows the grammar. This contains the corresponding Latin and English words for various groups of common things, such as parts of the body, the house and its parts, &c. As early as the 8th century collections of Latin words with the English equivalents had been made[4], sometimes arranged in alphabetical order, thus taking a first step towards the compilation of a Latin-English dictionary.

As a last instance of attention to Latin literature may be noted the library that Leofric, bishop of Exeter (1050), acquired for his church[5]. Besides others it contained 'Liber pastoralis, liber dialogorum, liber Boetii de Consolatione, Isagoge Porphirii,...liber Prosperi, liber Prudentii psicomachie, liber Prudentii ymnorum, liber Prudentii de martyribus,...liber Isidori etimologiarum,...liber Isidori de novo et veteri testamento, liber Isidori de miraculis Christi,...liber Persii, Sedulies boc, glose Statii...'

12. In the preceding remarks it has been chiefly in the

[1] Æthelwold, bishop of Winchester (d. 984), was Ælfric's teacher. In the Latin preface to the grammar occurs the expression 'sicut didicimus in scola Adelwoldi.'

[2] 'Ego Ælfricus has excerptiones de Prisciano minore vel majore vobis puerulis tenellis ad vestram linguam transferre studui.'

[3] The Colloquy will be found in Thorpe's *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica*, or in the first volume of Wright's *Vocabularies*.

[4] See the two volumes of Wright's *Vocabularies*, or the edition of these by Wülcker.

[5] 'þus ſela Ledenboca he beget in to þan mynstre,' Earle's *Charters*, p. 251.

Latin Charters.

character of a literary language that Latin has been considered, the language in which were written books that were read or composed by the old English scholars. But from a rather different quarter may be illustrated a familiarity with Latin during the whole period under notice—from the long series of charters written in that language. The first of these, given by Kemble in his *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici*, and accepted by him as genuine, is a charter of Ethelbert of Kent, dated 604, and from that time onwards there is no period which shews the disuse of Latin.

Absence of foreign material in the writings of Ælfric and others.

13. It will be seen from what has been said in the preceding paragraphs, that the freedom from foreign material, which continued to mark the language in the 10th and 11th centuries, was not due to ignorance of Latin on the part of those who wrote the best English. Ælfric, as we have seen, was a scholar, but in his works, which are the best specimens of the prose of his time, there are very few words borrowed from Latin. And it is the same with other writers. All preferred to use native material, with the result that, in respect to the proportion of the native to the foreign element in the vocabulary, the earliest and the latest stages of the language are in striking contrast with one another.

The larger knowledge of the English due to Christianity.

14. But though from the language of the literature that Christianity brought to the knowledge of the English, they may have taken few words, yet by that literature they were introduced to a new world of thought, whose ideas called for expression. Nor was it only by a knowledge that Christianity brought to them in their island home that their mental horizon was widened. The door was opened to intercourse alike with the Celtic Christians of Britain and Ireland, and with the Christians of the continent. The examples of men like Aidan [1]

[1] See the life of Aidan, Bede III. 5.

of Iona were put before the English in their own land, or by sojourn in Ireland they came to know a new life. To Gaul and to Italy there was constant resort. Benedict Biscop journeyed five times to the continent. Wilfrid of York, before his settlement there, had lived in Gaul and Rome[1]. Alcuin was the friend of Charlemagne. Englishwomen went to Gaul for instruction[2], and more than one English king went to Rome[3]. The fervour of English Christianity led Englishmen to missionary effort among their heathen kinsmen on the Continent, and Wictbert and Wilbrord went to preach to the Frisians[4].

15. The conditions of knowledge, then, among the English, whether that knowledge were gained by intercourse with books or with men, must have been very different from that which would have prevailed had Christianity not come to them, and this difference implies that the language must have been very different from that which would have served their needs, had they remained outside the Christian pale. If we could say how different, we should get a measure of the influence exerted on the language by Christianity. As it is impossible to say what the language might have been, if it had been left to itself, it is impossible to determine the difference just spoken of; but there are many points in which the influence in question may be traced, and these will be noticed in the following chapter.

The modification of language which is implied by modification of knowledge.

[1] See for Wilfrid's life, Bede v. 19.

[2] The daughter of Earconbert (640) of Kent was in a monastery at Brie, 'for,' says Bede, 'at that time but few monasteries being built in England, many were wont to repair to the monasteries of the Franks, and they also sent their daughters there to be instructed,' III. 8.

[3] An. 728. 'Her Ine ferde to Rome,' A. S. Chron.

737. 'Her Forþhere biscop and Friþogiþ cuen ferdun to Rome,' *ib.*

855. 'Æþelwulf cyning ferde to Rome, and þær wæs xii monaþ wuniende, and þa him hamweard for, and him Carl Francna cyning his dohtor geaf him to cuene,' *ib.*

[4] Bede IV. 9, 10.

CHAPTER VI.

Learning in England—the Latin authors chiefly studied were the Christian writers—*Latin of the Second Period*—Latin-English hybrids—the Latin element, except in special classes of words, really small—changed conditions of life implied by some of the Latin words—expansion of the native language—parallel Latin and English words—contrast of Old English with Modern English in respect to the use of foreign material—illustration of this from translations of the Scriptures—ecclesiastical terms—scientific terms—terms of grammar—of Astronomy—other classes of words—the method by which the use of Latin words was avoided—importance of the influence of Christianity on the language.

Learning in England before 1066.

1. In the preceding chapter some illustration has been attempted of the extent to which, in the period between the coming of Augustine and the Norman Conquest, learning, that had followed in the train of Christianity, flourished in England. Though it fell on evil days when the Danes were ravaging the country, yet through a great part of the period the names of English scholars may be pointed to as evidence that Latin was known by those who were likely to mould the literary speech of England. Much of the prose literature, as will be noticed later, is translation from the Latin. The writer of the best English prose, when the period was drawing to its close, was Ælfric, the compiler of a Latin-English Grammar. With such a knowledge of Latin among Englishmen, the natural result was, that one effect on their language, in which the influence of Christianity may be traced, was the incorporation into it of foreign material. This addition to the vocabulary is known as *Latin of the Second Period.*

2. Before giving a list of the words that may be placed under this head, it may be well to refer to some of the notices given in Chapter v. From these it will be seen, that, as might be expected, it was not the classical writers, who were the special objects of study; it was rather the Christian writers of a later age, with whom the Christian scholars of England were familiar. It was religious, rather than literary, considerations, which made an author acceptable; even Alcuin, according to his biographer, in later life saw the folly of reading the lies of Virgil, and would neither study them himself, nor permit his pupils to do so either[1]; and the Latin, with which the glossaries shew their compilers to have been brought in contact, is not always such as finds a place in a classical dictionary.

The Latin authors chiefly studied were the Christian writers.

3. With this preface as to the character of the Latin with which the English scholars were most familiar we may proceed to give a list of words of Latin origin[2], that made their way into English before about the middle of the eleventh century.

The Latin of the Second Period.

* Words which occur only in Latin-English Glossaries, or in glosses to Latin works.

† Ecclesiastical words. § Plant names.

‡ Words that occur only once or twice. For the reason of these distinctions see § 5.

English		*Latin*
†abbod	*abbot*	abbatem
†abbodisse	*abbess*	abbatissa

[1] 'Legerat isdem vir Domini (*Alcuin*) libros juvenis antiquorum philosophorum, Virgiliique mendacia, quae nolebat jam ipse nec audire, neque discipulos suos legere, "sufficiunt," inquiens, "divini poetae vobis, nec egetis luxuriosa sermonis Virgilii vos pollui facundia."' In the same spirit Isidore of Seville (d. 636) forbade the monks under his control to read books written by heathen of the olden time.

[2] Under this head are taken words borrowed by Latin from other languages.

English		*Latin*
*accent	*accent*	accentus
*æbs	*fir-tree*	abies
†ælmesse	*alms*	eleemosyna
†ærce-	*arch-* (in cmpds)	archi-
æstel	*book-mark*	(h)astula
†albe	*alb*	alba
†alter (-are)	*altar*	altare
§aluwe	*aloes*	aloe
amber[1]	*jar, measure*	amphora (*low Lat.* ambia)
*amel	*vessel for holy water*	amula
ampelle (-ulle)	*bottle*	ampulla
ancor, ancra	*anchor*	anchora
†ancor, ancra	*hermit*	anachoreta
†antefn	*anthem*	antiphona
†apostata	*apostate*	apostata
†apostol	*apostle*	apostolus
§aprotane	*wormwood*	abrotanum
§armelu	*wild rue*	harmala
aspide	*asp*	aspidem
*atrum	*ink*	atramentum
†bæ[d]zere, bæstere (not in West Saxon)	*baptist*	baptista
§balsam	*balsam*	balsamum
*basilisca	*basilisk*	basiliscus
belt	*belt*	balteus
‡be-mūtian	*to exchange*	mutare
§berbene	*verbena*	verbena
§bēte	*beet-root*	beta
§betonice	*betony*	betonica
†biscop	*bishop*	episcopus
‡bises	*day added in leap-year*	bissextus
‡bissext	*leap-year*	bissextus
§box	*box-tree*	buxus
‡brēfan	*to epitomize*	brevis
*bula	*ornament*	bulla
butere	*butter*	butyrum
*cæfester	*halter*	capistrum
‡ge-cafstrian	*to bridle*	

[1] In this case the native English word may have helped to introduce the Latin form. The mod. German *eimer*, a pail, has *ein-par* as its earliest form, to which would correspond an Old English ān-bær.

English		*Latin*
†cæppe	*hood*	cappa
‡calc	*shoe*	calceus
calend	*month, time*	calendae
calic	*cup*	calicem
‡cama	*muzzle*	camus
camel (not in West Saxon)	*camel*	camelus
camp	*battle*	campus
cancer	*cancer*	cancer
candel	*candle*	candela
†canon	*canon, rule*	canon
†canonic	*canon* (person)	canonicus
†cantere	*singer*	canto
†cantic	*canticle*	canticum
capitol	*chapter*	capitulum
*capūn	*capon*	caponem
carcern[1]	*prison*	carcer
§caric(e)	*dry fig*	carica
carte	*paper, document*	charta
cāsere	*emperor*	Caesar
castel	*village*	castellum
§cawel	*cabbage*	caulis
cealc	*chalk*	calcem
§ceder	*cedar*	cedrus
§celeþonie	*celandine*	chelidonium
§cel(l)endre	*coriander*	coriandrum
*cemes	*shirt*	camisia
*centaur	*centaur*	centaurus
§centaurie	*centaury* (plant)	centaureum
ceren	*sweet wine*	carenum
§cerfille	*chervil*	cerefolium
cetel	*kettle*	catillus
*†chor	*dance, choir*	chorus
§cīepe	*onion*	caepa
cīese	*cheese*	caseus
ciest	*chest*	cista
*cilic	*sack-cloth*	cilicium
cimbal(a)	*cymbal*	cymbalum
ciper [-sealf]	*henna ointment*	cypros

[1] This form seems to combine English *ærn*, a house, with the Latin.

English		*Latin*
circul	*circle*	circulus
[cirice	*church*	κυριακόν]
§cires [-bēam]	*cherry-tree*	cerasus
§cisten	*chestnut*	castanea
*citere	*harp*	cithara
clauster, clūstor	*enclosed place, cloister*	claustrum
†cleric	*clerk*	clericus
clūs, clūse	*confined place*	clausum
cōc	*cook*	coquus
§cod [-æppel]	*quince*	cydonia
§coliandre	*coriander*	coriandrum
‡columne, columbe	*column*	columna
comēta	*comet*	cometa
§consolde	*comfrey*	consolida
consul	*consul*	consul
‡coorte	*cohort*	cohortem
copor	*copper*	cuprum
*ge-corōnian	*to crown*	corona
‡cranic	*chronicle*	chronicus
†crēda	*creed*	credo
†crisma	*holy oil*	chrisma
crisp, cirps	*curly*	crispus
cristalla	*crystal*	crystallus
§cristalla	*flea-bane*	crystallium
crīsten	*christian*	christianus
§croh	*saffron*	crocus
*cruft, crufte	*vault*	crypta
‡cubit	*cubit*	cubitus
cucler	*spoon*	cochlear
§cucurbite	*gourd*	cucurbita
†cūgele	*cowl*	cuculla
‡culpe	*fault*	culpa
culter	*coulter*	culter
cumb	*coomb* (measure)	cumba (?)
†cumpæder	*godfather*	compater
§cuneglæsse	*hound's tongue* (plant)	cynoglossos
cuppe	*cup*	cuppa
*cwatern	?	quaternio
cycene	*kitchen*	coquina
cȳf, cȳp	*vessel*	cupa
*cylen	*kiln*	culina

English		*Latin*
cyll, cylle	*bottle*	culeus
§cymen	*cummin*	cuminum
§cyrfette	*gourd*	cucurbita
declīnian	*to decline* (in grammar)	declinare
*delfīn	*dolphin*	delphinus
dēofol	*devil*	diabolus
‡derodinc	*scarlet dye*	teredinem
diacon	*deacon*	diaconus
dihtan	*to compose, direct*	dictare
*dīnere	*coin*	denarius
disc	*dish*	discus
discipul	*disciple*	discipulus
domne	*lord* (as title)	dominus
draca	*dragon*	draco
§dracent(s)e	*dragon-wort*	dracontea
‡dulmun	*war-ship*	dromunda
earc	*ark, chest*	arca
ele	*oil*	oleum
§elehtre	*lupin*	electrum
elpend	*elephant*	elephantus
engel	*angel*	angelus
§eolone	*elecampane*	inula
Eotol	*Italy*	Italia
epact	*epact*	epactus
epistol	*letter*	epistola
fals	*fraud*	falsum
fann	*winnowing-fan*	vannus
†fant, font	*font*	fontem
†Farisēisc	*Pharisean*	Pharisaeus
fefer	*fever*	febris
§feferfuge	*feverfew* (plant)	febrifugia
fenix	*phenix*	fenix
fers	[illegible]	versus
§fīc	*fig*	ficus
*fifele	*buckle*	fibula
§finugle, finol	*fennel*	foeniculum
*fiþelere	*fiddler*	vidula (?)
flasce	*flask*	vasculam
*flōrisc	*flowering*	flora
*flytme	*lancet*	phlebotomum
forca	*fork*	furca

English		*Latin*
foss	*ditch*	fossa
*fossere	*spade*	fossorium
fullere	*fuller, bleacher*	fullo
gigant	*giant*	gigantem
gimm	*gem*	gemma
§glædene	*gladdon* (plant)	gladina (?)
‡glēsan	*to gloss, explain*	glossa
grād	*grade, step*	gradus
græf	*style* (for writing)	graphium
‡grammaticere	*grammarian*	grammaticus
§hymele	*hop-plant*	humulus
idol	*idol*	idolum
impe	*graft*	impotus
in-segel, -sigel	*seal*	sigillum
§lactuca	*lettuce*	lactuca
lacu[1]	*lake*	lacus
Læden	*Latin*	latinum
lǣwede	*unlearned, lay*	laicus
lamprede, lempedu	*lamprey*	lampreda
§lauer, laur	*laurel*	laurus
‡legie	*legion*	legio
*lent	*lentil*	lentena
lēo, lēona	*lion*	leo, leonem
*lēowe	*league*	leuga, leuca
†letania	*litany*	litania
§lilie	*lily*	lilium
līne	*line*	linea
lopestre, lopust	*lobster*	locusta
§lufestice	*lovage*	lubestica
mægister	*master*	magister
†mæsse	*mass*	missa
§magdala [-trēow]	*almond-tree*	amygdala
*mamme	*teat*	mamma
marma, marm-, marman [-stān]	*marble*	marmor
†martyr	*martyr*	martyrus
§mārūfie	*horehound*	marrubium
§mealwe	*mallow*	malva
‡mechanisc	*mechanical*	mechanicus
mentel	*cloak*	mantellum

[1] But cf. the English verb *leccan*, to moisten.

English		*Latin*
mere-grot,[1] -grota	*pearl*	margarita
meter	*metre*	metrum
mīl	*mile*	milia
*mīl	*millet*	milium
‡mīlitisc	*military*	miles
miltestre	*harlot*	meretrix
§minte	*mint*	mentha
§mōr [-bēam]	*mulberry-tree*	morus
mortere	*mortar*	mortarium
mūl	*mule*	mulus
munt	*mountain*	montem
†munuc, mynecen	*monk, nun*	monachus
‡mūr	*wall*	murus
muscle	*mussel*	musculus
must	*new wine*	mustum
*mūtung	*loan*	mutuum
‡mydd	*bushel*	modius
mylen	*mill*	molina
†mynster	*monastery*	monasterium
§myrre	*myrrh*	myrra
§nǣp	*turnip*	napus
§nard	*spikenard*	nardus
§nefte, nepte	*cat's mint*	nepeta
†nōn	*ninth hour*	nona (hora)
‡not	*mark*	nota
*notere	*scribe*	notarius
†nunne	*nun*	nonna
†offrian	*to offer*	offerre
†oflǣte	*oblation*	oblata
olfend	*camel*	elephantem
*orc	*the infernal regions*	orcus
orc	*vessel*	urceus
orel, orl	*garment*	orale
organ	*song*	organon
organe	*musical instrument*	
§organe	*marjoram*	origanum
ostre	*oyster*	ostrea

[1] This seems to be a case of 'popular etymology,' the foreign word being represented by native material of very similar sound, which also very fairly gives the meaning required; a pearl may be called a 'sea-stone.'

English		*Latin*
†pæll	*cloak*	pallium
*pāl	*pole*	palus
palent, palendse	*palace*	palantium
§palm	*palm-tree*	palma
panne	*pan*	pat(i)na (?)
†pāpa	*pope*	papa
*paper	*papyrus*	papyrus
‡pard[1]	*leopard*	pardus
‡part	*part*	partem
pāwa, pēa	*peacock*	pavo
§persoc	*peach*	persicum
§peru	*pear*	pirus
§pervince	*periwinkle*	pervinca
§petersilige	*parsley*	petroselinum
pic	*pitch*	picem
‡pihment	*drug*	pigmentum
pihten	*part of a loom*	pecten
pīl	*pointed stick*	pilum
pīle	*mortar*	pila
pilece	*robe of skin*	pellicia
pīnian	*to torment*	poena
§pīn [-trēow]	*pine*	pinus
pinn	*pin*	penna
pinsian	*to consider*	pensare
§pipor	*pepper*	piper
§pirige	*pear-tree*	pirus
§pise	*pea*	pisum
*pisle	*chamber*	pisalis
pistol	*letter*	epistola
plæce, plætse (not in West Saxon)	*open place*	platea
plante	*plant*	planta
plaster	*plaster*	emplastrum
*platian	*to cover with plates*	platus
§plūm [-feþer]	*down*	pluma
§plūme, plȳme	*plum*	prunus
polente	*parched corn*	polenta
§pollegie	*pennyroyal*	pulegium
§popig	*poppy*	papaver

[1] But the word is hardly naturalized, and occurs only once: 'Ða swiftan tigres and ðа syllican pardes.' Translation of Basil's *Hexameron.*

English		Latin
§porr	*leek*	porrum
port	*port, town*	portus
port	*gate*	porta
†portic	*porch*	porticus
post	*post*	postis
†prāfost	*provost*	praepositus
‡predician	*to preach*	praedicare
†prēost	*priest*	presbyter
†prīm	*six o'clock, a.m.*	prima
prōfian	*to regard as*	probare
§prutene	*southernwood*	abrotanum
*puerisc	*boyish*	puer
pumic	*pumice*	pumicem
*punt	*punt*	ponto
‡pūr	*without blemish*	purus
purpure	*purple robe*	purpura
*purs	*purse*	bursa
pyle	*pillow*	pulvinus
pyngan	*to prick*	pungere
§pyretre	*pellitory*	pyrethrum
pytt	*pit*	puteus
§rædic	*radish*	radicem
†ræps	*response* (in church)	responsorium
†regol	*rule*	regula
†relic-, reliquias, *pl.*	*relic(s)*	reliquiae
*renge	*spider*	aranea
§rose	*rose*	rosa
§rūde	*rue*	ruta
§rysc, rysce	*rush* (plant)	ruscus
sacc	*sack*	saccus
†sācerd	*priest*	sacerdos
sælmerige	*brine*	salmuria
§sæppe	*spruce fir*	cf. sappinus
Sæternes [dæg]	*Saturday*	Saturni dies
§sæþerige, saturege	*savory* (plant)	satureia
§safine	*savine* (plant)	sabina
§salfige	*sage* (plant)	salvia
‡sallettan	*to sing to the harp*	psaltere
saltere	*psalter, psaltery*	psalterium
†sanct	*saint*	sanctus
sāpe	*soap*	sapo

English		*Latin*
sceamol	*bench*	scamellum
scōl, scolu	*school*	scola
scrīn	*shrine*	scrinium
scrofell	*scrofula*	scrofula
scutel	*dish*	scutula
†sealm	*psalm*	psalmus
sealtian	*to dance*	saltare
sēam	*burden*	sagma
sēamere	*beast of burden*	sagmarius
segn	*sign*	signum
segne	*drag-net*	sagena
§senep	*mustard*	sinapi
seoloc	*silk*	sericum
†seonoþ	*synod*	synodus
*sescle	*sixth part*	sextula
sester	*jar, measure*	sextarius
sicol	*sickle*	secula
‡sicor	*secure*	securus
‡sīde	*silk*	seta
§sideware	*zedoary*	zedoarium
§sigle	*rye*	secale, segale
socc	*sock*	soccus
*sole	*sandal*	solea
solor	*upper room*	solarium
§solsece	*heliotrope*	solsequia
sōn	*sound*	sonus
spadu	*spade*	spatha
*spaldur	*asphalt*	asphaltum
*spelt	*corn*	spelta
spendan	*to spend*	expendere
§spīca	*spikenard*	spica
*spilæg	*kind of snake*	spilagius
sponge, spynge	*sponge*	spongia
spyrte	*basket*	sporta
stær	*history*	historia
‡for-stoppian	*to stop up*	stuppare
strēl	*bed*	stragula
*stropp	*strap*	struppus
*strȳta	*ostrich*	struthio
sūtere	*shoemaker*	sutor
§syrfe	*service tree*	sorbus

English		*Latin*
tabule	*table, tablet*	tabula
tæfl	*chess-board*	tabula
tæpped	*carpet*	tapete
†tempel	*temple*	templum
temprian	*to temper*	temperare
teosol	*die*	tessera
†termen	*term*	terminus
tigele	*tile*	tegula
tiger	*tiger*	tigris
tigrisc	*of a tiger*	,,
timpane	*timbrel*	tympanum
*titul	*title*	titulus
*torcul	*wine-press*	torcular
torr	*tower*	turris
traht	*exposition*	tractus
‡traisc	*tragic*	tragicus
*trifet	*tribute*	tributum
trifulian	*to grind*	tribulare
†tropere	*a service-book*	troparium
*truht	*trout*	tructa
tunece	*tunic*	tunica
*turl	*ladle*	trulla
turnian, tyrnan	*to turn*	tornare
turtle	*turtle-dove*	turtur
*ulm [-trēow]	*elm-tree*	ulmus
†ymen	*hymn*	hymnus
†ymnere	*hymn-book*	hymnarium
ynce	*inch*	uncia
yndse	*ounce*	
§ynne [-lēac]	*onion*	unio
§ysope	*hyssop*	hyssopus

If to this list be added the words already given under the head of *Latin of the First Period*[1], a fairly complete collection of the Latin material[2] to be found in the oldest English works will be obtained.

[1] Some of the words contained in the list perhaps belong to this Period.

[2] Some of this Latin material may have come through a Celtic channel, e.g. *bædere, sācerd*.

Latin-English hybrids.

4. It should, however, be noted that the list in § 3 is not a complete list of all words used in oldest English which contain Latin material; in it only one English form is given to illustrate borrowing from each Latin word. Now while in many cases this represents the indebtedness of English, yet in others, and these are the minority, derivatives were formed by the help of native material. Thus connected with *camp* we have *campian* to fight, *campung* fighting, *cempa* a warrior; and *camp* occurs as the first element of words formed by combining it with the following native ones: *dōm*, *ealdor*, *gefēra*, *hād*, *rāden*, *stede*, *wǣpen*, *werod*, *wīg*, *wīsa*, *wudu*. Again, the Latin material in *dictare* is seen not only in *dihtan*, but also in *diht* order, *dihtend* a director, *dihtere* an expositor, *dihtnere* a steward, *dihtnian* to dispose, *dihtnung*, *dihtung* disposition. It will be seen, then, that a complete list of words which shew Latin material will be somewhat longer than that given in § 3.

The smallness of the Latin element in Old English.

5. But when all allowance is made for this increase of their number, it will still be found that these Latin derivatives form a very small part of the Old English vocabulary; and that not merely from the point of view of their number. For it will be noticed that a great many of the words in the list play a very subordinate part. Especially is this the case with words that are found in the glossaries, or in glosses of Latin works; these are little more than Anglicised forms of Latin originals, and though they may shew that Englishmen read Latin, they can hardly be considered as having been living English words[1]. Others, again, are suggested to a translator by his original; they may be so far naturalized as to be inflected as native words, but they are not made so thoroughly English that they

[1] For instance, the translator of Mt. xxi. 33 translates *torcular* by *wīn-wringe*; one glosser glosses it by *wīn-trog*, but another by *torcul*; this single use hardly stamps the word *torcul* as a living English one in the period under notice. See the words marked * in the list § 3.

can be used in any other than their original connection[1]. A large number, further, belong to the special class of plant-names[2], a result, probably, of the connection between plants and medicine, as may be inferred from the contents of the medical works of the period. Yet another class, which naturally is of considerable extent, is that which consists of technical ecclesiastical terms[3]; and though the words in this, and in the preceding, class were living English words, yet the ground they covered was a very small part of the field over which the vocabulary of a language must spread itself. Again, some of the words, which would not find a place under any of the heads just given, occur very rarely[4]. Thus in the case of the verb *glēsan* and the verbal noun *glēsung*, each occurs once and in the same passage of Ælfric's Grammar. In the case of other words alongside the Latin forms existed native ones. Thus on the same page of one of Ælfric's Homilies what in one line is spoken of as *forca* is in another called *geafol*; and while rare instances of derivatives from Latin-Greek *Gramma* do occur, yet the usual words for expressing the meanings belonging to such derivatives are formed with the native material *stæf* (cf. *Ger.* buch-*stabe*). If these points be considered in connection with the list in § 3, it will be seen that the greater part of the Latin material given in it is absorbed by a small part of the vocabulary, and that the Latin material which made

[1] E.g. the Latin technical terms *consul*, *legio*, *cohors*, used by Orosius in his history, are adopted in Alfred's translation with their Latin meaning, but they did not become English in the sense that they were used in reference to other than Roman institutions: *consul*, e.g., could not be used with a modified sense, as in later times, and be applied to any English official. So Alfred says of the term: 'consul, þæt we *heretoga* hataþ' (we call a consul *heretoga*); in the same way he explains *coorte* by *truma* (a troop): the currency in English of *heretoga* and *truma* was very different from that of *consul* and *coorte*.

[2] See the words marked § in the list.

[3] See the words marked † in the list.

[4] See the words marked ‡ in the list.

its way into anything like general use was really inconsiderable[1]. In other words, most of the work that language had to do in the old English times had to be done by old English material.

What might be learned from the list of changed conditions of life in England.

6. Before leaving the list attention may be called to the possibility of getting from it information about changed conditions of English life in other than religious matters. *Culter* and *sicol* may suggest improvement in tillage and in harvesting; *mylen* a better method of dealing with the grain that was raised; *cōc* and *cycene*, *panne* and *cetel* point to a culinary advance, while *cuppe*, *disc*, and *orc* may be evidence of a more elaborate furniture for the table; meat and drink, too, were more varied, as *pipor* and *senep*, *must* and *ceren*, and the number of fruits and vegetables which have foreign names, seem to witness; and other departments of life might be similarly illustrated. And lastly, as a point concerning the language, it may be noted that not a little of this Latin material is still to be found in English[2].

Expansion of the native language.

7. From what has been said in this and the preceding chapter it will have been seen, that the amount of Latin introduced into English after the acceptance of Christianity is not at all an adequate measure of the importance of the influences, flowing from the new faith, which affected English thought, and consequently the language in which that thought found expression. The increase in the vocabulary due to such borrowing was comparatively slight; it must be, then, in the extended use of old material that we are to look for the means by which the old

[1] As a further illustration of the really slight infusion of Latin into the language it may be noted how few verbs are due to Latin. Excluding two or three which are connected with the Church the following are nearly the only instances of verbs that are at all freely used: *campian*, *dihtan*(*-nian*), *pīnian*, *pinsian*, *plantian*, *spendan*, *temprian*, *trahtian* (*-nian*), *turnian* (*tyrnan*).

[2] But some modern English forms, which might seem to represent this old Latin material, have come from French.

Englishmen, unlike the Englishmen of later times, were able to meet the demands that altered conditions of knowledge made upon language. The last case noticed in § 5 may serve to introduce the point. There two instances are given in which, though foreign material had been accepted, yet its meaning could also be expressed by native. The tendency which is thus suggested may be further illustrated by the following examples: *Ærce-* can be rendered by *hēah-* (high), and alongside *ærce-biscop* we find *hēah-biscop*, while *archangel* is regularly given by *hēah-engel*. *Alter*, *idol*, *tempel* did not exclude *wīg-bed* (*weofod*), (*dēofol-*) *gild*, *hearh* and *alh*; for an *offering lāc* could be used as well as *offrung*: *disciple* is commonly translated by *leorningcniht*: the idea of the *anchorite* is expressed by *ān-setla* (a solitary settler), as well as by *ancra*: to *preach* is once given by *prēdician*, but the usual word is the native *bodian* (Mod. E. to bode): the daughter of Herodias is once called *sealtigge*, but in the translation of the Gospels, in the passage in which her dancing is described (Mt. xiv. 6: Mk vi. 22), the Latin *saltavit* is rendered by *tumbude* (tumbled), while the Northumbrian gloss uses the verb to *play*: the same gloss uses the latter verb in Lk. vii. 32, the one instance in which the West-Saxon version translates *saltare* by *saltian*: for a *crown* English could use the word *bēah*, a ring[1] (cf. Fr. *bague*), or with an intensive prefix *wuldor* (glory), *wuldor-bēah*, so though *corōnian* occurs, *wuldor-bēagian* is in common use: *epistol* (or *pistol*) does not exclude *ærend-gewrit* (errand-writ, writing conveying a message): the words connected with *wīte*, punishment, are more current than those derived from Latin *poena*: *feohtan*, to fight, and its relatives exist alongside the *camp*-forms: and though Ælfric in his grammar sometimes

Parallel words in Latin and English.

[1] Cf. the description of the Danish queen when she appears wearing a crown:

'Þā cwom Wealhþēo forð
gān under gyldnum *bēage*.' Beowulf 1163.

uses words based on *declinare*, he also expresses the same ideas by help of the native *bīegan* (to bend).

Contrast between different stages of English in respect to the use of foreign material.

8. In the case of the Latin derivatives referred to in the preceding paragraph, it will be seen that, had the language remained without them, its powers of expression would have been little affected ; native material might have done their work. In these instances, however, all we can say is that assistance from Latin might have been dispensed with; but with respect to the great majority of cases, in which new knowledge had to be put into words, we can say that such assistance actually was dispensed with. In taking examples to illustrate the point, we may begin with words belonging to a section of the vocabulary in which the foreign material was most likely to find a place—that which is connected with religion; and, it may be remarked, both in these and in all the other examples particular attention should be given to the modern English words which translate them; the comparison of old and modern English, so far as this is possible with the material in question, will give some idea of the contrast, already more than once referred to, which is presented by the two stages of the language.

Examples from translations of the Scriptures.

9. Considering the excellent simplicity that characterizes the diction of the Authorized Version, no source for the supplying of words connected with religion is better suited to our purpose than the translation of the Scriptures; for the contrast in that case will be with the purest form of a later time. It is from the Bible, then, that the following words are taken, and the list may be appropriately headed by terms denominating that source, or parts of it:

Old English	*Modern English*
þā hālgan gewritu	*the holy Scriptures*
sēo ealde gecȳþnes	*the old Testament*
sēo nīwe gecȳþnes	*the new Testament*

Old English	*Modern English*
godspel	*gospel*
cnēores-bōc (*generation book*)	*Genesis*
ūt-færeld (*out-journey*)	*Exodus*
þēnung-bōc (*service-book*)	*Leviticus*
getel (*number, tale*)	*Numbers*
sēo æfter-ǣ (*second law*)	*Deuteronomy*

That the doctrines of religion might be presented to Englishmen in their native speech is suggested by the following:

ǣ-fæstnes (ǣ *law*)	*religion*
ge-cirrednes (cirran *to turn*)	*conversion*
ge-wȳscednes (wȳscan *to wish*)	*adoption*
ge-corennes (coren *chosen*)	*election*
costnung (costnian *to try*)	*temptation*
ā-līesednes (līesan *to loosen*)	*redemption*
dǣd-bōt (dǣd *deed*, bōt *amends*)	*repentance*
hālgung (hālig *holy*)	*consecration*
clǣnsung (*cleansing*)	*purification*
ge-hālgung	*sanctification*
dōm (*doom*)	*judgement*
hǣlu (hāl *whole*)	*salvation*
ge-niþerung (niþer *down*)	*damnation*

The virtues, which Christianity recommended, had not in all cases been held in high esteem by the heathen English, but they can find names for them: e.g.

lufu (*love*)	*charity*
miltsung (milde *mild*)	*compassion*
ge-þyld (þolian *to thole, endure*)	*patience*
ge-metgung (ge-met *measure*)	*temperance*

Here, however, no better illustration can be found than is furnished by the rendering of the passage (Mt. v. 3—11), which tells who, according to the Christian ideal, are to be accounted truly happy: they are described in none but English words:

þā gāstlican þearfan	*the poor in spirit*
þā līþan (*lithe*, Lat. has *mites*)	*the meek*

Old English	*Modern English*
þā mildheortan (milde *mild*, heorte *heart*)	*the merciful*
þā clǣnheortan	*the pure in heart*
þā gesibsuman (sib *peace*)	*the peacemakers*
þā þe ēhtnesse þoliaþ	*those that are persecuted*
þonne hī wyriaþ ēow (wyrian *to curse*)	*when they revile you*

For the names of various classes, sects, officers, &c., that occur in the Bible story, English could provide the material:

hēah-fæder	*patriarch*
wītega	*prophet*
godspellere	*evangelist*
bōcere (bōc *book*)	*Scribe*
wrītere	
[1]sundor-hālga (hālig *holy*)	*Pharisee*
[1]rihtwīsend	*Sadducee*
æ-glēawa (æ *law*, glēaw *wise*)	*lawyer*
fēorþan dǣles rīca (*ruler*)	*tetrarch*
þā mān-fullan (mān *iniquity*)	*the publicans*
hundred-man	*centurion*
līcettere (līcettan *to feign*)	*hypocrite*

So, too, with terms relating to Jewish ceremonial or history:

geteld (*tent*)	*tabernacle*
(earc) þe Drihtnes wedd on ys	(*ark*) *of the Covenant*
onsægednes (on-secgan *to sacrifice*)	*sacrifice*
gebed (cf. *bedes*-man)	*prayer*
ymb-snide	*circumcision*
frēols	*feast*
Ēastre (*Easter*)	*Passover*
ge-samnung (samnian *to collect*)	*synagogue*
gehāt-land (gehāt *promise*)	*land of promise*

And that the story of the founder of Christianity might be told in English may be suggested by the following words:

Hǣlend	*Saviour*
Ā-līesend	*Redeemer*
ā-cennednes	*nativity*
binn	*manger*

[1] The Latin is sometimes used: nom. Farisei, Saducei; gen. -orum.

Old English	*Modern English*
smiþ	*carpenter*
fulwian	*to baptize*
þegnian	*to minister*
bodian	*to preach*
big-spell	*parable*
wundor	*miracle*
ge-, ofer-hīwian	*to transfigure*
þrowung (*suffering*)	*passion*
rōd, galga	*cross*
on rōde āhōn (*to hang*)	*to crucify*
byrgen	*sepulchre*
ā̄-rist (rīsan *to rise*)	*resurrection*
ā-stīgan	*to ascend*
dēma	*a judge*
for-spreca	*an advocate*

10. The technical vocabulary, which belonged to the new ecclesiastical system, was treated in the same way; a few instances may be enough to illustrate the point:

Ecclesiastical terms.

ge-hādode menn (hād *order*, *-hood*)	*men in orders*
[biscop-] setl, -stōl (*seat*, *stool*)	(*bishop's*) *see*
[biscop-] scīr (*shire*)	*a diocese*
[prēost-] scīr	*parish*
wēsten-setla (wēsten *desert*)	*hermit*
gebed-hūs (gebed *prayer*)	*oratory*
þegnung	*service*
uht-sang (uht *time before daybreak*)	*nocturns*
dægred-sang (dæg-red *dawn*)	*matins*
ā̄fen-sang	*vespers*
wæcce (*watch*)	*vigil*
hūsel	*eucharist*
þrinnes	*Trinity*

But a better idea of the capacity of English to express ecclesiastical terms than is given by scattered instances like the above, is gained from the fact, that so abstruse a doctrinal exposition as the Athanasian Creed could be reproduced in English.

11. It was, however, not only the demands of sacred letters or of the Church that the language had to meet, and met as we have tried to shew. Profane learning made its claims, and these, too, were satisfied by recourse to the native stock of words. In regard, then, to the terms of science, attention may again be called to the difference in the methods adopted by Old and Modern English to meet the needs of a new knowledge. Thus while the seven liberal arts, which were comprised in the course of study that was made up of the two divisions, the *trivium* and the *quadrivium*, have now foreign names, in the earlier time their names were almost entirely English:

Scientific terms.

the *trivium*

stæf-cræft	grammatica	*grammar*
þyl-cræft	rhetorica	*rhetoric*
flit-cræft	dialectica	*logic*

the *quadrivium*

tungol-gescēad	astrologia	*astrology*
eorþ-gemet	geometria	*geometry*
rīm-cræft	arithmetica	*arithmetic*
sōn[1]-cræft / swinsung-cræft	musica	*music*

So, too, in other cases:

tungol-ǣ (*star-law*)	*astronomy*
lǣce[2]-cræft (*leech-craft*)	*medicine*
orþanc-scipe (orþanc *skill*)	*mechanics*

And if we turn to the terms of the arts, whose names have been given, they will be found to be quite in keeping with the titles under which they would

Grammatical.

[1] *Sōn* is the only Latin derivative in the seven names, and in place of it the native *swinsung*, melody, is sometimes used; all the rest is English: *stæf*, letter, *þyle*, orator, *flit*, dispute, *tungol*, star, *gemet*, measure, *rīm*, rime, number, *cræft*, art, *gescēad*, reason.

[2] *lǣce*, leech, is, if used now, applied to one who treats cattle.

be grouped. Take, for example, the terms which occur in Ælfric's Grammar:

dǣl (*deal*)	*part* (of speech)
nama	*noun*
naman speliend (*noun's representative*)	*pronoun*
word	*verb*
dǣl-nimend (*part-taker*)	*participle*
fore-setnes	*preposition*
tīd	*tense*
ge-met	*mood*
ān-feald (*one-fold*)	*singular*
wiþ-metenlīc (metan *to measure*)	*comparative*
āxigendlīc (āxian *to ask*)	*interrogative*
ge-wȳscendlīc (wȳscan *to wish*)	*optative*

So in Astronomy, when a better knowledge of the phenomena of the heavens, than had belonged to the English of the pre-Christian times, was brought by those skilled in the construction of the Calendar, the technical terms were reproduced in English form: Astronomical.

efn-niht (*even-night*)	*equinox*
hærfest (*harvest*)	*autumn*
tīd	*season, hour*
sunn-stede (stede *stead*)	*solstice*
tācn (*token*)	*sign* (*of the Zodiac*)

12. If English writers, when dealing with subjects in which the influence of Latin was naturally strongest, as must have been the case in ecclesiastical or scientific works, could employ a vocabulary so little dependent upon foreign material, as is shewn by the instances given above, it was not likely that they would feel their own language inadequate to their needs in other cases. And while in later times, thanks to the political conditions of the country, not only ecclesiastical terms, but also those connected with government and law, were largely foreign, there was little reason for a language, that could depend upon its own material to deal with the first class, to seek help from Other classes of words.

without in dealing with the other two, when government and law were essentially English. And if in the special classes referred to native material could be used, the same material might very well serve the general purposes of language.

13. And it will be noticed that these general purposes were served. The absence from the language of Latin words, in which any new knowledge might have been expressed, does not imply the absence of that knowledge from the minds of the English. It means only that instead of naturalizing a foreigner and employing him to do the work he had done in his old home, a native was trained to do the work. Or, dropping the figure, it means that instead of transferring a foreign word without other modification than such change of form as fitted it for grammatical treatment in English, the idea expressed by the word was translated into English. A few comments upon some of the words given above may further illustrate this method. In some cases the circumstances of the English themselves afforded so near a parallel to those which needed description, that an English word was almost, if not quite, ready to their hand. The idea, that the future might be known, was not strange to them, so it is not surprising that the *prophet* of the Bible should be rendered by an English word; the same by which it was rendered in the O. H. German (*wīzago*). If the Jewish story told of a government by *judges*, the English *dēma* was ready to express the Latin *judex*; and they were sufficiently familiar with an arrangement of persons by tens to make *hundred-mann* a tolerably natural equivalent of *centurio*. In other cases a general idea, which could be expressed in English, had been specialized, and the same specialization was applied to the native material. *Verbum* and *tempus* got special senses in grammar, and these special senses were given to the English words which had the same general sense as the Latin. So with technical theological terms, such as *redemption* and *election*; and so in yet more technical words, e.g. *Pharisee*

The method by which the use of Latin words was avoided.

or *synagogue*. The former was one professing holiness, who kept himself apart, and that idea was fairly expressed by combining the two English words *sundor*, apart, and *hālga*, a holy man: the latter was literally, a gathering together, and this was expressed by *ge-samnung*, *ge* having the force of *together*, *samnung* = gathering.

14. If, then, in Old English we do not find the foreign words that we ourselves use, it does not necessarily mean that at the earlier time Englishmen had not a knowledge of the things denoted by such words: perhaps, even, they discerned those things more readily, and to them *sundor-hālga* suggested more than does *Pharisee* to some of their descendants, and *dǣd-bōt*, to those who knew from experience the meaning of *bōt*, was somewhat more real than is *repentance* to some of us. Nor, consequently, does it mean, that the influences, which, directly or indirectly, may be attributed to Christianity, had affected the language slightly. Such superficial traces as foreign words were, indeed, comparatively few, but it is in the extended use of native material that those influences are to be traced; and that their effect was great will be allowed, when it is seen that this extended use made it possible for the language, with so little addition from without, to express the ideas, which religion and learning had brought to the knowledge of its speakers. Later, when we have noticed the extent of the Old English literature, we shall be better able to realise the importance of the Christian influence. Meanwhile, in another chapter, we will turn to consider a particular case, in which that influence seems to have been in some respects inoperative, and to have left uneffaced the stamp set upon the language by earlier times.

The importance of the influence exercised by Christianity on the language.

CHAPTER VII.

Peculiarities of the poetic diction in Old English—antiquity of poetry among Teutonic peoples—early specimens of Teutonic poetry—poetry a favourite form of entertainment—held in high esteem—Teutonic words connected with poetry—the survival of heathen ideals in Christian poetry—Old English poems, *Beowulf*, *Battle of Brunanburgh*, *Battle of Maldon*, *Judith*, *St Andrew*—the language of the poems examined—Christian saints described as Teutonic warriors—the old idea of the relations between the lord and the follower preserved—the old social life—the Old Saxon poetry like the Old English—recurrence of phrases and imagery—vocabulary of poetry distinct from that of prose—alliteration—loss of the poetic vocabulary.

Peculiarities of the poetic diction in Old English.

1. In a previous chapter[1] an attempt was made to draw some conclusions from certain terms in Old English, which were peculiar to the vocabulary of poetry; to shew that words, which had their birth and early life among a people who were at home on the sea, could yet remain in the vocabulary of poets, who no longer belonged to a nation of seafarers[2]. If those conclusions were correct, they would suggest, that the diction of poetry was to some extent traditional, that it could survive change in the modes of life and thought, which had been familiar to those who first used it; and in so doing could preserve some record of an earlier time. How far such is the case in the poetry,

[1] See Chap. IV. §§ 4—8.

[2] If the Old English poem, which goes under the name of *The Seafarer*, expresses at all a general feeling, the sea must have been regarded very differently by the poet's countrymen from what it had been by the Saxons

whose subjects were supplied by Christianity, we will try to shew by giving some examples of the way in which the material obtained from that source was transformed by the language of the poet into shapes quite other than those which it had in its Christian moulds. As a preliminary to the attempt, however, it may be well to say a few words about the cultivation of poetry among Teutonic peoples.

Antiquity of poetry among Teutonic peoples.

2. To the antiquity of Teutonic poetry reference has been already made, but the point may be noticed here a little more in detail. Such poetry was to be found certainly as early as the time of Tacitus, who in his *Germania* not only notes its existence, but also mentions the subjects on which it was employed: 'In their *ancient songs*, their only way of remembering or recording the past, they celebrate an earth-born god, Tuisco, and his son Mannus, as the origin of their race, as their founders[1].' Elsewhere he gives an instance, in which the songs had been employed for the record of the past in respect to more recent events. In speaking of the invincible hero, Arminius, he says that he was still the subject of the songs of the barbarian nations: 'Arminius...liberator haud dubie Germaniae...bello non victus...*canitur* adhuc barbaras apud gentes.' *Annals*, bk II. c. 88. And that Arminius had listened to such songs

described, Chap. IV. § 2. Such lines as the following could hardly have been written in the 4th century:

For þon him gelȳfeð lyt se þe āh līfes wynn
gebīdeð in burgum bealosīþa hwōn
wlonc and wīngāl hū ic wērig oft
in brimlāde bīdan sceolde.

little believeth he that hath life's delight,
suffers in cities misfortunes few,
elated and wine-flushed, how I weary oft
on the ocean-track must bide.

[1] 'Celebrant *carminibus antiquis*, quod unum apud illos memoriae et annalium genus est, Tuisconem deum terra editum, et filium Mannum, originem gentis conditoresque.' *Germania*, c. 2.

in praise of earlier heroes, we might infer from the same authority. For in describing the night before one of his battles with the Romans it is said: 'Cum barbari festis epulis, *laeto cantu*, aut truci sonore subjecta vallium ac resultantis saltus complerent.' *Annals* I. 65. In later times and among other tribes the poems are seen in the same character. Jordanes (6th cent.), in his history of the Goths, referring to certain events says: 'Quemadmodum et in *priscis eorum carminibus* pene historico ritu in commune recolitur,' c. 4. Paul the Deacon (8th cent.) speaking of the heroic character of Alboin, king of the Lombards (d. 573), says he was still celebrated in songs: 'Ut hactenus etiam tam apud Bajoariorum gentem, quam et Saxonum, sed et alios ejusdem linguae homines...in *eorum carminibus* celebretur.' And it was such songs that, according to Eginhard in his life of Charlemagne, the monarch collected: 'Barbara et *antiquissima carmina*, quibus veterum regum actus et bella canebantur, scripsit memoriaeque mandavit.'

Early specimens of Teutonic poetry.

3. If from such statements about Teutonic poetry we turn to the earliest instances in which we can actually see Teutonic practice, these will be found to shew exactly the character, that is attributed to those 'antiqua, prisca carmina,' of which the authors quoted above wrote from their own knowledge. Amongst the earliest Scandinavian poetry is that which deals with religion, and by a writer, who should have done for Scandinavians what Tacitus did for Germans, might have been applied to the poems of the Edda words very similar to those used by the Roman historian[1]. Or turning from the myths of the gods to the history of men, we may see how poets[2] recorded in their verse the achievements

[1] Cf. in Beowulf: 'þǣr wæs swutol sang scopes; sægde se ðe cūðe *frumsceaft fira feorran* reccan (*there was the poet's song; and he that could relate the origin remote of men told the tale*).'

[2] Snorri in the preface to his history says that part of it 'er ritat eptir *fornum kvæðum eða söguljóðum*, er menn hafa hait til skemtanar sér (*is written after old poems, that men have had for their entertainment*).'

of such heroes as Harold Fairhair, just as their predecessors in the art had done in the case of Arminius or of Alboin. In England, too, the old spirit had not died out in the 10th century, and the poems, which celebrate Athelstan's battle at Brunanburgh (937) and Byrhtnoth's battle at Maldon (991), were links in the long chain of Teutonic poetry, that the 'smiths of song[1]' had been working at even before the days of Arminius. Most of the chain is, indeed, lost; and that so many links are missing is not surprising. For in the earliest times, when a poem depended for its perpetuation on its committal to memory by successive generations[2], a long duration could be the lot of few; and when, later, writing might have helped to secure the permanence of such as survived, not many scholars were found to carry into effect such an intention as that with which Charlemagne has been credited; or who, like Snorri, having gained from the old poetry the historic matter, which, true to the old characteristic of Teutonic poetry, it contained, would give some extract from the original to shew the authority for a statement[3].

4. From another side the permanence in the characteristics of the poetry may be illustrated. Tacitus speaks of the 'laetus cantus' that was heard at the feasts of Arminius' followers, and from English literature we may see, that at a much

Poetry a favourite form of entertainment.

[1] Cf. Snorri, in the Ynglinga Saga, c. 6, who says that the first poets were called *ljóða smiðir* (smiths of songs). See below, § 5.

[2] Cf. the expression in Beowulf applied to the thane who celebrated Beowulf's exploit. He not only could make verses on the event, which had just taken place, but it is said of him that he was 'gidda gemyndig...eal fela *ealdgesegena* gemunde,' he had a memory stored with songs, and remembered many old stories. One of such old stories is specially mentioned — the widely spread Saga of the Walsings. See Beowulf, 867 sqq.

[3] A glance at the earlier part of the 'Heimskringla' (translated under the title 'The Sea-kings of Norway' by Laing, and again in 'The Saga Library' by Morris and Magnússon) will shew how often the old poetry is appealed to and quoted by the author of that history.

later time poetry furnished a favourite entertainment[1] at the feast. One of the earliest notices of the social life of England we get in the life of Cædmon, the first English poet whose name we know, and from it we may learn what poetry was for the English. Bede, who tells Cædmon's story, says of him: 'Having lived in a secular habit till he was well advanced in years, he had never learned anything of versifying; for which reason being sometimes at *entertainments*, when it was agreed *for the sake of mirth* that all present should *sing* in their turns, when he saw the *harp* come towards him, he rose up from the table and returned home[2].' Or turning to the poem of Beowulf we may see, that an amusement, which pleased those who sat with Cædmon in the abbey at Whitby, pleased equally in the courts of kings; and at the feasts in king Hrothgar's palace were heard 'hearpan swēg...sang scopes' (*sound of harp and song of poet*), v. 89[3].

Poetry held in high esteem.

5. Further the esteem in which poetry was held is marked alike by the source to which legend assigned it, and by the character of those who practised the art. It was, according to Scandinavian myth, from Odin that poetry in the North had its origin: 'In

[1] Cf. the second note to the last paragraph.

[2] 'In habitu saeculari usque ad tempora provectioris aetatis constitutus nil carminum aliquando didicerat. Unde nonnunquam in convivio, cum esset laetitiae causa ut omnes per ordinem cantare deberent, ille ubi adpropinquare sibi citharam cernebat, surgebat a media coena et egressus ad suam domum repedabat.' Bede Hist. IV. 24. It was after one such occasion that Cædmon's poetical gifts were discovered.

[3] Cf. too, the following passages having reference to feasting:

Scop hwīlum sang
hādor on Heorote.
the poet at times sang
clear in Heorot (the name of the palace). 497

Hwīlum cyninges þegn
.....
wel hwylc gecwæð

measures did he speak all things, even as that is now said which is called Skald-craft. He and his temple-priests are called Lay-smiths (ljóða smiðir; cf. German *lied*: O. English *lēoþ*), for that skill began through them in the Northlands[1].' And the poetic vocabulary of the North preserved the legend in many of its phrases[2]. It seems only the same feeling in another form, that caused men to ascribe to miraculous agency the poetic gift in Cædmon, which had been so late in disclosing itself. Bede (in the chapter referred to in the preceding paragraph) tells how the poet's first verses were made in a dream, and that 'in the morning he came to the steward, his superior, and having acquainted him with the gift he had received, was conducted to the abbess, by whom he was ordered, in the presence of many learned men, to tell his dream, and repeat the verses, that they might all give their judgment what it was, and whence his verse proceeded. They all concluded that heavenly grace had been conferred on him by our Lord.' And though the treasure might sometimes be

þæt hē fram Sigemundes secgan hȳrde
ellendǣdum.

At times a king's thane
.....
all told
that he of Sigemund's valorous deeds
had heard say. 876

þǣr wæs sang and swēg samod ætgædere,
gomenwudu grēted, gid oft wrecen,
þonne healgamen Hrōðgāres scop
æfter medobence mǣnan scolde.
there was song and music joined together,
the harp struck, the lay oft recited,
when the hall-mirth (sōng) *Hrothgar's poet*
along the mead bench had to declare. 1067

Many illustrations also might be given from Scandinavian literature.

[1] Heimskringla, in the Saga Library, I. 17.

[2] See Vigfusson's *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, II. 462.

placed in earthen vessels, as in the case of the inspired herdsman of Whitby, yet the title of poet gave distinction to the noblest: it was 'cyninges þegn' (*a king's thane*) who celebrated the exploit of Beowulf, and the poets of Harold Fairhair were among the bravest and most trusted of his followers.

Teutonic words connected with Poetry.

6. From yet another quarter the position of poetry in the early times might be illustrated—from language. The words connected with it are many, and some of them are widely spread among Teutonic dialects. For example

O. English	*O. Saxon*	*O.H. Ger.*	*Icelandic*	*Gothic*
singan *to sing*	singan	singan	syngva	siggwan[1]
sang *a song*	sang	sang	söngr	saggws
lēoþ[2] *a lay, song*		leod (lied)	ljóð	
lēoþian *to sing, recite*		liudōn *canere*		liuþōn
galan[2] *to sing*		galan	gala *to sing, chant*	
glēo[2] *glee, music*			glȳ *gladness*	
glēowian[2] *to sing, play*			glȳja *to be gleeful*	
gidd[2] *a song*				
giddian[2] *to sing*				
scop *a poet*		scof		
			skáld *a poet*	

[1] In Gothic the verb is also used of reading aloud, e.g. of reading in the synagogue. In Luke iv. 16 the Gothic version has 'usstōþ *siggwan bōkos*' = surrexit *legere*.

[2] The words will be better understood by seeing instances of their use, so one or two passages are here given:

Lēoþ wæs *āsungen*
Glēomannes gyd. Beowulf 1160

Lēoþ and *gyd* are used here of the poem, dealing with incidents of Frisian history, which had just been recited.

In the translation of Boethius, the metrical portions are translated into prose, but are introduced by such expressions as: 'Đā ongan wīsdōm *glīowian* and *giddode*, ēcte þæt spell (=*the prose*) mid *lēoþe*.' Verse renderings were also made, in which the same introductory office is done by such lines as:

Đā ongon wīsdōm his gewunan fylgan,
glīowordum gōl (p. of *galan*) *gyd* æt spelle. Met. 7. 2.

Many derivatives and compounds might be added, in which this material is found, and they would still further illustrate the point in question[1].

Survival of heathen ideals in Christian poetry.

7. From what has been said, it will appear, that with the English and other Teutonic peoples poetry was a thoroughly native product, and had existed among them long before they adopted Christianity. One of its main themes had been war, its heroes were warriors, the leader who was brave and liberal, and the follower who was brave and loyal to the death; its vocabulary was full of terms that described such subjects. But the English were converted to a religion, whose founder declared that the peacemakers were blessed, and that those who used the sword should perish by the sword; who enjoined that men should love their enemies, and that if they were smitten on the one cheek, they should turn the other also, a religion which presented an ideal quite opposed to the feelings of the earlier time. With saints and apostles for his heroes the poet might seem to have had little use for much of the old vocabulary, and it might have been expected to disappear from the Christian poetry as completely, as in later times it did from every kind of poetic literature. But the old ideals were so firmly fixed, that not only did Christianity leave them unshaken in their old domain, the secular poetry, but it even allowed them to penetrate the religious literature; and the hero of Bible story or of church legend was described in the same terms as had been used to describe the Teutonic warrior. As, in attempting to illustrate this point, it will be necessary to refer to some of

[1] It may be noted, as yet another illustration, that in the Old English translation of Bede's Latin account of *Cædmon* the terms connected with poetry are, with one exception, native words. *Carmen* is rendered by *lēoþ*, *lēoþ-song*, and *song*; *poema* by *lēoþ*; *cantare* and *canere* by *singan*; *ars canendi* by *lēoþ-cræft* and *song-cræft*; *verba poetica* by *scop-gereord*; *carminis modulatio* by *lēoþ-songes swinsung*. The rendering of *versus* by *fers* is the one exception.

the Old English poems, it will be well to say a few words about them to suggest their character.

Some old English poems. *Beowulf.*

8. The most important of them is *Beowulf*. From a brief summary of its contents it will be seen that its subject-matter is so independent of Christianity, that it may be taken as a fair representative of the old native poetry. In its first canto the poem tells how the Danish king, Hrothgar, causes a splendid palace to be built, to which is given the name Heorot. This is soon made a scene of slaughter, in consequence of the attacks of a fiendish being called Grendel, who carries off at one time no less than thirty of the king's thanes for the purpose of devouring them in his retreat. For twelve years these attacks are carried on, when a report of them at last reaches the ears of Beowulf, a nephew of Hygelac, king of the opposite territory of West Gothland. He determines to destroy the monster; and, accordingly, with a small retinue he crosses to the Danish coast, where the announcement of his purpose ensures his welcome. He and his companions, after feasting with the king, are left to rest in charge of the hall. Here they are visited by Grendel, who, after devouring one of the sleepers, is attacked by Beowulf and defeated, but escapes with the loss of an arm to his dwelling in the fens. The victory is followed by feasting, and the victor is rewarded with rich presents. But the following night the hall is the scene of a fresh attack. Grendel's mother, eager to avenge her son, enters it, but is obliged to fly, taking, however, with her a counsellor and friend of the king. Beowulf is summoned to assist against this new danger, and undertakes to seek and to destroy the enemy in her home. He reaches the dreary lake, which she inhabits, plunges into it, and after a long descent, reaches the bottom. Here a successful encounter takes place, after which Beowulf returns to the king, relates his exploit, and not long after embarks, laden with gifts, for his own country. On the death of Hygelac, Beowulf ascends the throne, and finds himself soon called upon to face new

difficulties. The country is troubled by a firedrake, which guards a treasure hidden in a hill: the royal palace is destroyed, and Beowulf sets out to do battle with the dragon. In the fight he is wounded, but by the help of one of his followers his antagonist is destroyed: the wound, however, is mortal; he lives long enough to give directions for his funeral mound and then expires.

Battle of Brunanburgh.

Equally independent of Christianity, as regards their subjects, are two poems, recording events in English history. One is given in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under the year 937, and celebrates the battle of Brunanburgh, in which Athelstan gained a victory over a united force of Danes, Welsh, and Scotch; the other commemorates a less successful encounter at Maldon in 991, when Byrhtnoth died fighting the Danes. A band of these had sailed up the Blackwater to Maldon, where they were met by Byrhtnoth. He contemptuously rejected their suggestion that he should purchase peace, and with disastrous courage allowed them to land unmolested. After desperate fighting he fell, upon which some of his followers fled, but the others declared their determination to fulfil their duty to the dead lord, and carried out that determination.

Battle of Maldon.

Judith.

The next poem to be noticed is the fragment on Judith. Here, as the subject is from the Apocrypha, the origin of the poem is in a sense dependent upon Christianity. But the scenes of the poem—Holofernes' feast, his death at Judith's hands, the defeat of the followers after the death of their lord—might easily be treated as though the actors in them were the poet's kinsfolk.

St Andrew.

For all the poems that have been described so far, the old poetic vocabulary was quite appropriate. But in the last one to be spoken of the case is otherwise. The poem, whose hero is St Andrew, tells how he was divinely summoned to sail from Achaia to Mermedonia, where

St Matthew was in the hands of the heathens; how he fell into the captivity from which his brother apostle had been saved by his means; how he suffered martyrdom; and how in the end, having effected the conversion of his persecutors, he returned. In this poem the characters are so different from those which appear in the others, that by a comparison of the language used in the former with that used in the latter, the point referred to at the end of § 7 may be illustrated.

The language of the poems examined. Christian saints described as Teutonic warriors.

9. In the poem whose hero is St Andrew the key-note is struck at the outset, and that it is the same note as that heard in the poem whose hero is Beowulf will appear, if the opening lines of the two poems be placed alongside one another. In the former the poet recalls the fame of the apostles, as the poet of the latter does that of the warrior-kings of the Danes:

Hwæt[1]! wē gefrūnan[1] on fyrndagum
twelfe under tunglum *tīrēadige hæleð*
þēodnes þegnas nō hīra *þrym* ālæg
*campr*ǣdenne þonne *cumbol hnēotan*
....

[1] The somewhat stereotyped character of poetic formulae may be illustrated by comparing the phrases here given with those used at the beginning of other poems:

Hwæt! wē ſeor and nēah *gefrigen* habbaþ. Exodus.
Gefrægn ic Hebreos ēadgē liſgean. Daniel.
Hwæt! mē frōd wita on *fyrndagum*
sægde. Poem in the Exeter Book.
Hæbbe ic *gefrugnen*, þætte.... Phenix.
Hwæt! ic þysne sang fand. Poem on the Apostles.
Hwæt! wē þæt hȳrdon.... Juliana.
Hwæt! ic ſweſna cyst secgan wylle. Poem on the Cross.
Hwæt! ic flītan *gefrægn* on *fyrndagum*.
Dialogue of Solomon and Saturn.

Gefrignan, the verb often used in the above, means *to learn by asking*. The exclamatory *hwæt* (what) seems to suggest the address of a reciter to his hearers.

þæt wǣron mǣre men ofer eorðan
frome folctogan and *fyrdhwate*
rōfe rincas *þonne rond ond hond*
on *herefelda* helm *ealgodon*
on *meotudwange.* St And. 1—11.

Ah! we have heard in days of old
of twelve glorious heroes beneath the stars,
a prince's thanes: their glory failed not
in warfare, when ensigns crashed
.....
they were famous men upon earth,
stout leaders and brave,
mighty warriors, when shield and hand,
on the battle field, guarded the helm
on the plain of fate.

Hwæt[1]! wē Gār-Dena in gēardagum
þēodcyninga þrym gefrūnon[1]
hū þā æðelingas ellen fremedon. Beo. 1—3.

Ah! we of the Danes' kings in days of yore
the glory have heard,
how these royal princes valour displayed.

In the first passage nothing is said of those whom it celebrates, that might not be the fitting praise of the warriors to whom the second refers; and if its phraseology be taken in detail, it will be seen that nothing is said, which is not actually applied to such warriors. *Tīr* is a poetical word meaning *glory*; *ēadig* = happy, blessed; *tīr-ēadig* = glorious: *hæleð* is a poetical term for a man. The epithet finds its proper application, when used of king Hygelac, who is called *tīr-ēadig man* (Beo. 2189). The apostles are 'thanes of a prince'; it is the same phrase, that describes Beowulf's followers, who attended him on his expedition against Grendel's mother (Beo. 1627). The glory (*þrym*) which is mentioned in each passage is the glory gained on the battle-field; such as Athelstan gained at Brunanburgh when his foes

hlihhan ne þorfton
þæt hī beaduweorca beteran wurdon
on *camp*stede *cumbolgehnāstes.* 49.

had no need to laugh,
because they in works of war better had proved
on the battle-field of the ensigns' crash.

The apostles are *folc-togan*, folk-leaders; so are the warriors of the Danes, who came to the palace after Grendel's defeat:

þā wæs on morgen mīne gefrǣge
ymb þā gifhealle *gūðrinc* monig
fērdon *folctogan* feorran and nēan. 839.
then was at morn, as I have heard,
about the gift-hall many a warrior,
came the folk's leaders from far and near.

So are the leaders of the Assyrians, who were with Holofernes, and Judith bids her countrymen

fyllan *folctogan*...fǣge frumgāras. 194.
to fell the folk's leaders...fey chieftains.

The term *fyrd* was familiar to the English as applied to the military service which was obligatory on all; the brave man would be eager to take his part in such service, and *fyrd-hwæt* (*hwæt* keen, bold) was a fit epithet for the warrior. So of Beowulf's followers it is said:

tō sele cōmon
frome fyrdhwate fēowertȳne
Gēata gongan; gumdrihten mid
mōdig on gemonge meodowongas træd. 1643.
to the hall came
stout and brave fourteen
of the Geats walking; their lord with them,
proud in their midst, the mead-plains trode.

The next epithet in the passage, *rōf*, is used of Beowulf himself, who is thus addressed by his one faithful follower, when about to attack the firedrake:

scealt nū, dǣdum *rōf*,
æðeling ānhȳdig ealle mægene
feorh *ealgian*. 2668.
shalt thou, stout of deeds,
resolute prince, with all thy might
thy life protect.

The phrase which gives the descriptive touch of the battle, 'the hand and shield[1]' guarding the helm, may be compared with king Hrothgar's words 'siððan ic *hond and rond* hebban mihte,' i.e. since I could bear arms, Beo. 656. And the battle-field is *meotud-wang*, the field of fate; for *meotud*, which comes later to be applied to the Deity, seems to have the meaning at an earlier time of fate; so Beowulf says:

ealle wyrd forswēop
mīne māgas tō *metodsceafte*. 2815.

The hero of the poem is represented after a fashion, which the opening lines might lead us to expect. He receives the divine command to proceed to Mermedonia, for the purpose of freeing St Matthew from his captivity in that country, and the command is thus expressed:

Þū scealt... þīn feorh beran
in gramra gripe, þǣr þē [2]gūðgewinn
þurh hǣðenra [2]hildewōman
beorna [2]beaducræft geboden wyrðeð.

thou shalt...thy life bear
into the grip of cruel foes, there to thee battle
by the heathens' onslaught,
by the war-craft of warriors, shall be offered.

The apostle on whose behalf the saint is to make this journey is said to be *beadu-rōf*[3], stout in war; while to the saint are applied a number of terms indicative of his prowess. He is *nalas hild-lata, gearo gūðe*, not slow to battle, ready for war, 233; *beorn beaduwe heard*, a warrior hardy in battle, 984;

[1] *hand and rond* occurs again in *v.* 412.

[2] *Guð*, *hild*, *beadu* are words, used in poetry only, meaning *war*, *battle*. The first two are found in Icelandic in a personal sense, as names of two of the Valkyrjar, *Gunnr* and *Hildr*. Something of this personal sense may perhaps be traced in such expressions as 'Gif mec *hild* nime,' Beo. 452, and '*Guð* nimeð,' Beo. 2536.

[3] The same epithet is applied to Beowulf; his funeral monument is called *beadurōfes bēcn*, Beo. 3161.

ēadig [1]*oretta* (463), *ānrēd* [1]*oretta* (985), a blessed, resolute champion; *cempa collenferhð*, a warrior bold, 538; *hæle hildedēor*[2], a hero brave, 1004; *wīgendra hlēo*[3], the warriors' shelter, 506. He describes himself and his companions as Christ's '*þegnas, gecoren tō cempum*' thanes, chosen as warriors, 323, and the latter are called by him *geonge gūðrincas*, young men of war, 392. Elsewhere they are spoken of as *beadurōfe*[4], 850; and to the apostles he applies the term *orettmægas*, warriors[5], 664. His martyrdom is thus foretold:

> Nū þū, Andreas, scealt edre genēðan
> in gramra gripe; is ðē gūð weotod
> heardum heoruswengum[6]. 954.
>
> *now thou, Andrew, shalt at once venture*
> *into the cruel ones' grip: war is allotted thee*
> *with stern sword-strokes.*

but he is comforted, and told not to flinch from

> grim gār-gewinn[7]. 960. *grim spear-strife.*

[1] Cf.
> Ārās þā be ronde rōf *oretta* (Beowulf)
> heard under helme. Beo. 2538.

[2] Cf.
> þā com ingān ealdor þegna,
> dǣdcēne mon, dōme gewurþad
> *hæle hildedēor*. Beo. 1644.

It is Beowulf who is referred to.

[3] Cf.
> Ic þē...,
> brego Beorhtdena, biddan wille,
> eodor Scyldinga, ānre bēne
> .....*wīgendra hlēo*. Beo. 429.

Elsewhere the Danish king is called *eorla hlēo* (1035); Byrhtnoth is called *hæleþa hlēo*, B. of Maldon, *v.* 74.

[4] V. note 3 on previous page.

[5] To Beowulf and his followers is applied the same term:
> þā þǣr wlonc hæleð
> *oretmægas* æfter æðelum frægn. Beo. 332.

[6] Grendel suffers *heorusweng heardne*, Beo. 1590.

[7] When the Jews are pursuing the Assyrians it is said:
> þegnas on þā tīd þearle gelyste
> *gār-gewinnes*. Jud. 308.

In the terms used when speaking of the Deity the same feeling may be traced. God and Christ are spoken of as *helm æðelinga*[1], helm or protector of princes, 277, 655. God is *sige-dryhten*[2], victory-lord, which is the title given to king Hrothgar by the Danish coast-guard:—*Sigedryhten* mīn, aldor Ēast-Dena, Beo. 391; *þēoda baldor*[3], chief of nations, 547; *līfes brytta*[4], dispenser of life, 823; *hæleða wuldor*, glory of heroes, 1465; *þēoda rǣswa*[5], counsellor of nations. Christ is *æðeling*, an atheling, a prince of the blood royal (cf. Edgar *Atheling*); *burh-weard*, the guardian of the city; *sigora weard*[2], the guardian of victories. And the devil, when reviling Christ, is made to say

> þone Erodes ealdre besnyðede
> forcom æt campe cyning Iudēa
> rīces berǣdde. 1328.
>
> *him Herod cut off from life,*
> *undid at battle, the king of the Jews,*
> *of rule bereft.*

10. The transformation which foreign material underwent before it found expression in the native verse is further illustrated by the poet's conception of the relation between St Andrew and his disciples. In the poetry which dealt with native subjects the ideal that is seen in the *Germany* of Tacitus might still be traced—the liberal lord and the loyal follower.

The old idea of the relations between the lord and the follower preserved.

[1] So Beowulf is called *helm lidmanna*, seamen's helm, Beo. 1623, and kings of Danes and Goths are *helm Scyldinga* (456) and *helm Wedra* (2462) respectively.

[2] Cf. the legend of Odin: 'Odin was a great warrior,...and so victorious was he,...that his men trowed of him that he should of his own nature ever have the victory in every battle.' Heimskringla, in the Saga Library, I. 12.

[3] Holofernes is called *gumena baldor*, chief of men, Jud. 9. King Hrēðel is *sinca baldor*, lord over treasures, Beo. 2428.

[4] Holofernes is *sinces brytta*, dispenser of treasure, Jud. 30.

[5] The Assyrian nobles are *folces rǣswan*, Jud. 11.

King Athelstan is *beorna* [1]*bēahgifa*, a ring-giver of men; king Hrothgar is *sinces brytta*, a dispenser of treasure, and impresses upon Beowulf the need for liberality in a chief, by giving an instance of the disastrous results that followed from a lack of that virtue[2]; Byrhtnoth is *sinc-gifa*, a treasure-giver; and in the case of Holofernes the like terms are found; he is *sinces brytta, gold-gifa, gold-wine gumena* (*wine*, a friend). And it is the spirit of the old time, that held it lasting infamy to survive the lord who had fallen in battle, that animates Byrhtwold, the follower of Byrhtnoth, when he says after the latter's death

fram ic ne wille
ac ic mē be healfe mīnum hlāforde
be swā lēofan men licgan þence.

away I will not,
but I beside my lord,
by the man I loved so, mean to lie.

And his comrades, as other passages from the poem would shew, were of like mind. The same feeling appears in Wiglaf's scorn of Beowulf's followers, who failed their chief in his time of need[3].

If now we turn to the Christian poem, we shall find that the poet makes his characters speak as if they were fellow-countrymen of Byrhtwold or of Wiglaf; in the following passage

[1] *Bēah*, a ring, kept in French *bague*, is used of a bracelet, necklet, or crown, as well as of a ring for the hand. Gifts often took such forms, hence the epithet. For instance, in Egil's Saga it is said that after a battle, in which Egil had fought among Athelstan's troops, the king gave him a ring from his own hand. Egil's Saga, c. 55.

[2] Hrothgar quotes the case of one who suffered because

nallas bēagas geaf — *he gave not rings*
Denum æfter dōme. 1720. — *to the Danes in due measure—*

and gives this advice to Beowulf

þū þē lǣr be þon — *teach thyself by this;*
gumcyste ongit. 1723. — *understand liberality.*

That Beowulf followed the advice is seen later on, when his liberality is spoken of in *v.* 2865.

[3] See Beowulf, 2864 sqq.

we have the language of Teuton warriors, not of eastern Christians. When it is proposed to St Andrew's disciples that they shall wait by the ship, while their master goes alone on his dangerous mission,

edre þā eorlas āgēfan ondsware,
þegnas þrohthearde...
'Hwider hweorfaþ wē hlāfordlēase[1],
gēomormōde, gōde orfeorme,
synnum wunde, gif wē swīcaþ þē?
wē bīoþ lāðe on landa gehwam,
folcum fracoðe, þonne fira bearn,
ellenrōfe, æht besittaþ,
hwylc hira sēlast symle gelǣste
hlāforde æt hilde, þonne hand and rond
on beaduwange, billum forgrunden,
æt nīðplegan nearu þrowedon[2].' 401—414.

straightway the men returned answer,
resolute thanes...
'Whither shall we turn, lordless,
sad of soul, lacking all good,
sin-stained, if we fail thee?
we shall be hateful in every land,
to all peoples infamous, when the sons of men,
valorous, sit discussing
which of them best ever followed
lord in war, when hand and shield,
on the war-plain, smitten with swords,
at the fell play suffered straits.'

[1] Cf. the words of Leofsunu, a follower of Byrhtnoth:
Ne þurfon mē on Stūrmere stedefæste hæleð
wordum ætwītan nū mīn wine gecranc
þæt ic *hlāfordlēas* hām sīðie. 249.

[2] The passage here quoted will serve well to shew how thoroughly foreign material was converted into native in poetry, if the poetical and prose renderings of the legend at this point are compared. The former has been given, the latter runs simply thus, a mere translation: 'Gif wē gewītaþ fram þē, þonne bēo wē fremde eallum þām gōdum þe þū ūs gegearwodest; ac wē bēoð mid þē swā hwǣr swā þū fǣrest' (*if we depart from thee, then shall we be strangers to all the good that thou hast prepared for us; but we will be with thee wheresoever thou goest*).

The old social life.

11. And Teutonic life in other scenes than those connected with war was by like transformation reflected in the poetry. The follower who fought with his lord in the field feasted with him in the hall, and received of his treasure. When St Andrew is ready to depart from Mermedonia it is said

> þæt hē þā *goldburg* ofgifan wolde
> secga *seledrēam* and *sincgestrēon*
> *beorht bēagselu*. 1659.
>
> *that he the city stored with gold would give up,*
> *men's glad life in the hall and the gathered treasure,*
> *the bright hall where rings were dealt forth.*

It is the language of the Beowulf, and it is Teutons that the Saint is leaving. Heorot, the palace of the Danish king, was 'bēahsele beorhta,' 1177; it was there that Grendel

> dōgora gehwam *drēam* gehȳrde
> hlūdne in healle, þǣr wæs hearpan swēg,
> swutol sang scopes. 88.
>
> *each day he heard joyous life*
> *loud in hall; there was sound of harp,*
> *clear song of poet.*

And again,

> scop hwīlum sang
> hādor on Heorote: þǣr wæs hæleða *drēam*. 497.

And of another hall less fortunate, it is said

> *seledrēam* gesāh (*sank*). 2252.

It was in Heorot that Queen Waltheow said to Beowulf

> Ic þē an tela — *I thee grant much*
> sincgestrēona. 1226. — *of gathered treasures.*

From the poet's language it might seem that the Saint was another Beowulf, who, with a train of loyal followers, had done deeds of warlike prowess, had shared the joyous life of another Heorot, had earned the gifts that were distributed in 'goldburg' and 'bēag-sele' as the reward of heroic bravery, and

having done the appointed task, had left the scene of his glory to return to his native land.

12. In an earlier chapter[1] the permanence of the poetic vocabulary in the case of sea-faring terms was illustrated by a reference to the poetic vocabulary of a kindred dialect—the Old Saxon. Like illustration may be got for some of the material noticed above by again referring to the same dialect. Thus the epithet *eorla dryhten*, lord of earls, which in the English poems that have been quoted is given to Athelstan, to Hrothgar, and to Holofernes, is in the Heliand applied to Christ[2]; *sige-dryhten*, as we have seen, was used of the Deity and of an earthly king; the corresponding Old Saxon *sigi-drohtin*[3] is used of God. With the title *burh-ward*, which the English poet gave to Christ, may be compared the description of Solomon by the Old Saxon, when he has to render 'Solomon in all his glory':

Old Saxon poetry like Old English.

the *burges ward*,
Salomon the kuning, the habda sink mikil,
meðom-hordas mest thero the enig man ehti,
welono gewunnan endi allaro giwadeo kust. 1679.

the city's ward,
king Solomon, who had much treasure,
most of precious hoard, more of wealth
than any man, and choicest garments.

[1] p. 57.

[2] The residence in the wilderness which preceded the temptation is thus described:

was im thar an thero enodi *erlo drohtin*
langa hwila. 1028.
was there in the desert the earls' lord
long while.

[3] Christ, speaking of prayer, is made to say:

Than gi willean te iuwomo herron helpono biddean
that iu *sigi-drohtin* sundeono tomea. 1577.
when ye will of your lord ask help,
that the victory-lord from sins free you.

And the same conception of Christ as is suggested by the English form is found in the line 'Krist, liof *liudio ward*,' Christ, dear guardian of men, 984.

Beowulf had chosen a band of followers for his expedition

> Hæfde se gōda Gēata lēoda
> cempan gecorene. Beo. 205.
> *had the good prince of the Geats*
> *champions chosen—*

and such he addresses as 'swǣse *gesīðas*,' dear comrades. So Christ 'samnoda *gisiðos*,' 1204, and about him were

> sulike *gisiðos* so he im selbo *gikos*. 1280.
> *such comrades as he himself chose.*

The twelve disciples are his 'comitatus,' he their 'princeps,' as it might have been among the Germans of Tacitus:

> He im selbo gikos
> twelibi gitalda treuhafta man
> ... .thea drohtin welda
> an is gisiðskipea simblon hebbean. 1524.
> *He himself chose*
> *true men twelve in number*
> *that the lord would*
> *in his company ever have.*

For the loyal follower, Wiglaf, Beowulf is *man-dryhten*[1], the lord whose man he was; and Matthew's acceptance of Christ's call is thus described:

> He warð im uses *drohtines man*,
> kos im the kuninges thegan Krist te herron,
> milderan medgebon, than er is *man-drohtin*
> wari an thesero weroldi. 1201.
> *He became our lord's man,*
> *the king's thane chose Christ as his chief,*
> *a more liberal giver of treasure, than before his*
> *worldly lord had been.*

1 Geseah (Wiglaf) his *mondryhten* (Beowulf)
under heregrīman hǣt þrowian. 2605.

Beowulf speaks of king Hygelac as 'mīn *mondrihten*,' 436.

And just as the English poet, when speaking of English life in Byrhtnoth's home, says

> þonne wē on bence bēot āhōfon,
> *hæleð on healle.* Byrht. 214.
>
> *when we on the bench made our boast,*
> *heroes in hall—*

so the Old Saxon, when he has to represent a household scene, suggested by Matt. v. 15, says

> man lioht hoho skal
> an seli settean, that thea gesehan mugin
> alla giliko, thea thar inna sind,
> *helidos in halle.* 1409.
>
> *the light on high must*
> *in hall be placed, that they may see*
> *all alike, that are therein,*
> *heroes in hall.*

13. In the passages that have been quoted the language of poetry has been considered chiefly with reference to its tendency to maintain the form given to it in earlier times, and so to preserve traces of the old ideals. The traditional character of the poetical vocabulary, which thus seems to be shewn, may receive further illustration, if the recurrence of phrases and imagery be noted. The riming formula *rand and hand*, of which examples are given above, is not uncommon; the alliterative epithet of the sword *brād and brūnecg* occurs in the Beowulf and in the poem on the battle of Maldon[1]; the same simile for a ship is used in the Beowulf and in the Legend of St Andrew[2]; and, as will be seen in the following passages, the

Recurrence of phrases and imagery in the poetry.

[1] Hēo hyre seax getēah
brād brūnecg. Beo. 1546.

þā Byrhtnōð brǣd bill of scēðe
brād and brūnecg. B. of Mald. 163.

[2] p. 57.

same imagery is employed in different poems to heighten the effect of the description of the battle-field:

Dynedon scildas,
hlūde hlummon: þæs se hlanca gefeah
wulf in walde, and se wanna *hrefn*,
wælgīfre fugel; wiston bēgen
þæt him þa þēodguman þohton tilian
fylle on fǣgum; ac him flēah on lāst
earn ātes georn ūrigfeðera
salowigpāda sang hildelēoð
hyrnednebba. Judith 204—212.

clashed shields,
loudly sounded; at which the lank wolf
was glad in the wold, and the dark raven,
slaughter-greedy bird; both knew
that for them the leaders meant to provide
plenty among the doomed; and in their track flew
the eagle eager for food, dewy-feathered,
sallow-coated, sang a war-song
the horny-beaked one.

Cyning and æðeling cȳðde sōhton
lēton him behindan hrā bryttian
salowigpādan and þone sweartan *hrefn*
hyrnednebban and þone hasupādan
earn æftan hwīt *āses* brūcan
grǣdigne gūðhafoc and þæt grǣge dēor
wulf on wealde. Battle of Brunanburgh, 58—65.

king and prince sought their home,
left behind them dispensing the corses
the black raven with its sallow coat,
horny of beak, and the dusky-coated
eagle with tail white-tipped eating carrion,
greedy warhawk; and that grey beast
the wolf in the wold.

þā wearð hrēam āhafen *hremmas* wundon
earn āses georn. Battle of Maldon, 106—7.

then was a cry raised, ravens wheeled round,
the eagle eager for carrion.

14. As may be supposed, in vocabulary and in diction the poetry is quite distinct from the prose. In the former are found words which are never used in the latter. Of such the material in this Chapter will afford illustration. For man or warrior we have *hæleþ*, *rinc*, *beorn*, *oretta*; for a chief *baldor*, *brego*, *eodor*, *folc-toga*, *þēod-guma*, *gum-drihten*, *man-drihten*, *bēah-gifa*, *gold-gifa*, *sinc-gifa*; the epithets applied to such are *rōf*, *tīr-ēadig*, *fierd-hwæt*, *beadu-rōf*, *nalas hild-lata*, *hilde-dēor*, *dād-cēne*, *þroht-heard*, *ellen-rōf*; for war or battle we have *beadu*, *hild*, *gūþ*, *gār-gewinn*, *cumbol-gehnāst*, *nīþ-plega*, *æsc-plega*; the battle-field is *here-feld*, *meotud-wang*; the glory gained on it is *tīr*; the bird of prey that hovers over it is *gūþ-hafoc*. Beside the single term in prose, *sweord*, the poetry can use *bill*, *mēce*, and *heoru*; *gār*, a spear, is poetical, while *spere* can be used in poetry and in prose; *cumbol* and *rand* in like manner are poetical, while words of corresponding meaning *segn* and *scild* are common. *Sinc*, again, is poetical while *hord* (hoard) is used in prose; and *gif-heall* is the poetical compound which is applied to the hall where gifts were distributed by the chief.

The vocabulary of poetry distinct from that of prose.

These few examples, with the addition of the words given in Chap. IV.[1], may serve to suggest that it was a vocabulary which contained not a few practical synonyms and abounded in epithets that denoted comparatively slight variations on one theme. It was a vocabulary which made it possible for the Old English poetry to present an idea, that would find simple expression in prose, in an amplified form, by the

[1] A few instances of words connected with war, which do not occur in the passages quoted, may be added, to shew that the types seen in the sea-terms are equally current in other cases. Thus the warrior is denominated from the weapon he carries, e.g. *æsc-berend* (*æsc* a spear), *gār-berend*, *helm-berend*, *sweord-berend*; arrows are *hilde-nædran*, war-adders; battle is *gār-mitting* and *sweorda gelāc*, swords' play. For similar, but more elaborate forms in Scandinavian poetry, see Vigfusson and Powell's *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, II. 447 sqq

gathering together of such synonyms and epithets. The contrast between the verse and prose renderings of the same material has been illustrated above, and two other instances may here be added to make the point clearer. Cædmon's verses, which were the first that any Englishman is known to have made, are preserved in a MS. of the first half of the 8th century in the following form:

Nu scylun hergan [1]*hefaenricaes uard*
[2]*metudæs* maecti end his modgidanc
uerc [3]*uuldurfadur* sue he uundra gihuaes
[4]*eci Dryctin* or astelidæ
he aerist scop aelda barnum
heben til hrofe [5]*haleg scepen*
tha middungeard [6]*moncynnæs uard*
[4]*eci Dryctin* æfter tiadæ
firum fold[u] [7]*frea allmectig*[8].

This is practically a rendering of the first verse of Genesis, but the poetry expands the material by using many terms for the single 'God' of the prose. The Deity is [1]*the ward of the kingdom of heaven*, [2]*metud* (= fate), [3]*the glory-father*, [4]*the eternal lord*, [5]*the holy creator*, [6]*the ward of mankind*, [7]*the lord almighty*. Men, too, are *ælda barn* and *firas*; earth is *middun-geard* and *folde*.

A later instance may be taken from the version of Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae*. The prose has simply: 'Đā wæs sum consul, þæt wē heretoha hātaþ, Boetius wæs hāten, se wæs in bōccræftum and on woruldþēawum se rihtwīsesta.' This in the metrical rendering is thus expanded:

[8] See Sweet's Oldest English Texts, pp. 148—9. In Bede's History the sense of these verses is thus given: 'Nunc laudare debemus auctorem regni coelestis, potentiam creatoris, et consilium illius, facta patris gloriae. Quomodo ille cum sit aeternus Deus, omnium miraculorum auctor exstitit, qui primo filiis hominum coelum pro culmine tecti, dehinc terram custos humani generis omnipotens creavit.' Bede adds: 'Hic est sensus, non autem ordo ipse, verborum quae dormiens ille canebat.'

þā wæs *r*icra sum: on *R*ōme byrig
ā*h*efen *h*eretoga: *H*lāforde lēof
þæt wæs *r*ihtwīs *r*inc: næs mid *R*ōmwarum
*s*incgeofa *s*ella: *si*ððan longe
hē wæs for *w*eorulde *wī*s: *weor*ðmynda georn
*b*eorn *b*ōca glēaw: *B*oitius
se *h*æle *h*ātte se þone *h*līsan geþah.

then of the great was one: in the city of Rome,
a leader exalted: loved of his lord,
it was a righteous man: not 'mong the Romans
was treasure-giver better: for long after:
he was wise in this world's ways: eager for honour,
a man skilled in books: Boethius
the hero hight: who gained such fame.

15. One further point (which the quotations will illustrate) in reference to the poetry may be just noticed—the kind of rime used. It will be seen that in all the verses that have been given, there is *alliteration*, i.e. certain stressed words in each verse begin either with the same consonant, or with vowels (generally different ones). The number of alliterating words may be two or three, but in any case only one is found in the second of the half-verses into which each verse is divided by a pause. The last extract, in which the alliterative letters are italicized and the pause marked by a colon (:), may be taken as an example of the kind of rime, which was used in all the Old English poetry.

Alliteration.

16. There is one point in connection with the special part of the language, which has been considered in this chapter, that, after reading the material given in illustration, will probably have attracted notice, viz. the complete disappearance from the later language of all that was so characteristic of the earlier. While most of the work to be done by modern English is done by the English words in it, yet that element of the old speech, which once was most highly prized, has long ceased to form part of the living vocabulary of England. Poetry still holds its

Loss of the poetic vocabulary.

place in our literature, but its verse and its vocabulary are no longer after the fashion of the early times. The chapter that has attempted to give some idea of that fashion may fitly close with words of Kemble, which may serve as a summary of the conclusions that might be drawn from our examples. Speaking of the Old English poetry he says it exhibits 'peculiarities which belong to the poetical language in contradistinction to that of prose, and which were kept up by tradition among their *scopas* or poets. To this is owing the retention, even in Christian works, of modes of expression, which must have had their origin in the heathen feeling, and which in order to fit them for their new application, are gradually softened down, and gain less personal and more abstract significations. The language of poetry is as distinct from that of prose among the Anglo-Saxons as any two different dialects. It is in their poems that the stubborn nationality of our forefathers shews itself most thoroughly; their prose works are almost always literal translations, and even if original are deeply imbued with tramontane feelings, derived from the models most in vogue. But the epic forms maintained themselves despite of the book learning, which was so overprized, and even translations become originals from the all-pervading Teutonic spirit, which was unconsciously preserved in the forms and phrases of heathen poetry.'

CHAPTER VIII.

Decay of learning in England after the appearance of the Danes—the outpouring from the 'populous north'—physical and political conditions of Norway and Denmark—Danish attacks on England and the settlements which followed—Alfred's treaty with the Danes—a permanent Scandinavian element in England—Danish rule in England—the character of the Danes as shewn in their conflict with the English—Danish influence on language to some extent destructive—Danish loan-words—not numerous, but many of them characteristic of their source—terms connected with law, with the sea, with war—general terms—amount of indebtedness implied by the loan-words—evidence from Middle English literature of borrowing in earlier times—Danish words in the literature and in dialects—the determination of a Scandinavian origin for words used in English—Danish characteristics in English.

1. It has been noticed in a preceding chapter (*ante*, p. 69) that at the close of the 8th century Alcuin, an Englishman living in Gaul, could point to his native land as a storehouse, to which the scholars of his adopted country might have recourse to supply deficiencies, of which his acquaintance with English libraries made him sensible; and it was York in particular that Alcuin must have had in his mind when he thought of England and its learning. But before the end of the 9th century the state of learning in England had utterly changed; and as we know from Alfred (*ante*, p. 73), so far was England from being a place to which men would come in search of learning, that the English of his time had to look to

Decay of learning in England in the 9th century.

other lands for teaching; and York was in the very part of the country that had suffered most from the influences which brought about the change. Even when Alcuin was writing of 'the flowers of Britain,' the cloud—no bigger than a man's hand—which heralded the storm, that was to destroy those flowers, had appeared. Under the year 787 the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle has the ominous entry, 'In Beorhtric's days (he died in 800) came first three ships, and the reeve rode thereto and was for driving them to the king's town, for he knew not what they were, and he was slain. It was the first ships of Danish men that visited the land of the English[1].' A new influence had begun to shew itself in England, which was to leave lasting traces on the people and on the language, and which, as the first notices of those who were to exert it might suggest, was to work differently from those which had already operated; for though in the case both of the Celts and of the Scandinavians the English had a foe to deal with, the first were weak, the second strong; and though in the case of Christianity, as in that of the Scandinavians, there was no lack of strength, the former produced its effects by peaceful means, the latter made their power felt by force of arms.

The appearance of the Danes in England.

2. The story of which an account of the relations between the Scandinavians and the English forms part is a very remarkable one. From lands of no great extent and apparently little favoured by nature poured forth a human stream, that might

The outpouring of the Scandinavians.

[1] 'On his (*Beorhtric's*) dagum cuomon ærest iii scipu and þa se gerefa þærto rad and hie wolde drifan to þæs cyninges tune þy he nyste hwæt hie wæron. and hiene mon ofslog. Þæt wæron þa ærestan scipu Deniscra monna þe Angelcynnes lond gesohton.' This entry does not fix the date of the incident which it mentions, but the ships appeared probably before 796, the date of Alcuin's letter. At any rate in some MSS. of the Chronicle there are notices of attacks by the 'heathen' in Northumbria in the years 793 and 794; in the former year the church at Lindisfarne was destroyed.

well have been thought inexhaustible[1], and that before it ceased to flow had left hardly any part of Europe untouched. From Iceland to Constantinople the Northmen were known, and, like the Saxons of an earlier time, they became terrible by their depredations. Of their dealings with other lands than England this is not the place to speak; but it will be remembered that England in suffering from their attacks had but the same fate as a great part of Europe.

Physical and political conditions of Norway and Denmark.

Of the northern lands, which in the 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries played so prominent a part in European history, it is Denmark and Norway with which we are most concerned. The physical and political conditions of these countries in some respects favoured the special development we have to notice. In Norway the extent of land which could be cultivated was small, and such land was to be found near the coast. 'Norway,' said the Norwegian, Ohthere, to king Alfred, 'is very long and very narrow. All of it, that can be either grazed or ploughed, lies by the sea, and even that is in some places very rocky, and there are wild hills to the east running parallel to the cultivated land[2].' And what the same speaker told of himself may suggest like conditions for others, who lived in such a land. It was by the sea that he dwelt[3], and

[1] See the table given by Steenstrup (*Normannerne* I. pp. 214—7) of the number of ships in Scandinavian fleets of the 9th century, and of the numbers of the fallen in various battles during the same time. According to the sources there quoted as many as 700 ships were to be found in one fleet, and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle mentions another of 350 ships. The losses, which were suffered, are on the same scale, 12,000 being the number of the slain on one occasion.

[2] Ohthere sæde ðæt Norðmanna land wære swyþe lang and swyþe smæl. Eal þæt his man aðer oððe ettan oððe erian mæg, þæt lið wið ða sæ; and þæt is þeah on sumum stowum swyðe cludig; and licgað wilde moras wið eastan and wið uppon emnlange þæm bynum lande. Alfred's Orosius, bk. I. c. i.

[3] He cwæð þæt he bude on þæm lande norþweardum wiþ þa Westsæ. *ib.*

on the sea he was at home. He was accustomed to whaling[1], and had made a voyage of discovery in which he had reached the White Sea. To men so trained the sea became the highway to other more favoured lands, from which might be obtained the wealth, that could not be acquired in their own. In Denmark, too, though the country was not occupied by barren hills, as was Norway, yet it was mostly by the water that the population was settled, and the sea again was the road to fortune. And in the political conditions that prevailed in either country there would be many to whom that road would prove attractive. In Norway, for example, before the country was brought under the single rule of Harold Fairhair, there were many small kingdoms. If, as was not unfrequently the case, the ruler of one of these was dispossessed by a more powerful neighbour, it was often to the sea that he betook himself, and on it, or in the lands to which it bore him, sought to mend his fortunes by rapine. What the sea was to the Scandinavians may be suggested to us by their literature, the statements of which, even if they be not exact, may at least be taken as indicative of the feelings with which it was regarded by them. For instance, the definition of the genuine sea-king fits in well with the character that should belong to a race whose ships were known on every coast in Europe. 'Many sea-kings there were,' says the old Saga, 'who had many men under them, and had no lands: but he alone had full right to the name of sea-king, that never slept under sooty beam, and never drank at chimney corner[2].' And the numberless scenes of seafaring life, which are preserved in their literature, would

[1] He fōr for þæm horswælum...ac on his agnum lande is se betsta hwælhuntaþ; þa beoð eahta and feowertiges elna lange, and þa mæstan, fiftiges elna langa; þara, he sæde, þæt he syxa sum ofsloge syxtig on twam dagum. Alfred's Orosius, bk. I. c. i.

[2] Váru margir sækonungar, þeir er réðu liði miklu ok átti engi lönd: þótti sá einn með fullu heita mega sækonungr, er hann svaf aldri undir sótkum ási, ok drakk aldri at arins horni. Ynglinga Saga, c. 34.

justify the application to the Scandinavians of the description (quoted *ante*, p. 54) at an earlier time given of the Saxons[1].

Danish attacks followed by permanent settlement.

3. Those for whom the sea had so few terrors were not likely to abandon any road upon it which was once opened up, and if the entries in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle during the second quarter of the 9th century be referred to, it will be seen that the appearance of the 'heathen men[2]' became a more and more prominent feature of English History. But the entries deal with expeditions made during the summer for the sake of plunder, and no attempt at gaining a footing in the

[1] The light in which, what now would be looked upon as piracy, was regarded among the Scandinavians may be slightly shewn by the following quotations from one of the smaller Icelandic Sagas. Countless instances in support of the inferences to be drawn from them might be collected. A young man, who remains at home, is thus admonished by his father: 'The doings of young men have got to be other than when I was young; then men were eager for some exploit, either to betake themselves to plundering or get money and honour in doings that a man risked his life in....It was the custom of mighty men, kings and earls, our equals, to go out plundering, and get for themselves money and fame, and that money was not to be reckoned an inheritance, nor was the son to take it after the father, but it was to be laid in the grave with the man himself.' The son of the man so addressed is represented as, while still in his teens, requesting to be thus started in life: "'I want you to give me a ship and I will plunder during the summer after the fashion of my kinsmen before me.'...Afterwards they betook themselves to plundering and got on well in their viking-cruise...by autumn they had taken five ships, all well equipped with weapons and men.'" Vatnsdæla Saga. It may just be noticed, that in both passages such piracy is spoken of as a regular practice, and that, too, in the case of the best men.

[2] Of the terms used to denote the Scandinavian marauders 'the heathen (men)' was current both in England and Ireland before those which referred to the places from which they came. Thus in the first three annals (793, 794, 832) of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, in which among the events of the year an attack is recorded, the term is used; in 833 *Denise* occurs. But as late as 942 the Northmen were still heathen to the Chronicler. The term may deserve notice as illustrating the mental attitude of the English to the Danes.

country is recorded. The character of the attacks, however, quite changes in the second half of the century, and with the change comes the time, when Danish influence can become strong in England, when, consequently, its influence upon the language may be important. Under the year 851 the Chronicle has the significant notice: 'Heathen men for the first time remained through the winter[1]'; and soon after, in 855, a repetition of this hitherto unusual practice is recorded: 'Heathen men for the first time in Sheppey remained through the winter[2].' This wintering in England seems to have been the first step in the direction of permanent settlement; and, as will appear from the record of events during the period from 870 to 880 which is contained in the Chronicle, when the first step was taken, it was not long before the end was reached. In 870 'King Edmund fought with the Danes, and they were victorious, and slew the King, and got all the country.' In 874 'the army (of the Danes) marched to Repton and took up winter quarters there, and drove King Burhred over sea, and got all the country.' In 875 'the army took up winter quarters by the river Tyne, and got all the country.' In 876 'Healfdene divided up Northumberland, and the Danes were ploughing and cultivating it for themselves.' In 877 'the army in autumn marched into Mercia, and some of it they divided among themselves, and gave some to Ceolwulf.' In 880 'the army marched from Cirencester into East Anglia and occupied the country and divided it among themselves.'

The treaty of Alfred with the Danes.

4. A practical summary of the proceedings just detailed is furnished by the first article in the agreement made in 878 between Alfred and Guthrum, according to which the boundary between the English and Danish districts lay along the Thames to the mouth of the Lea, then along the Lea to its source, then

[1] Hæþne men ærest ofer winter sæton.

[2] Hæþne men ærest on Sceapige ofer winter sætun.

directly to Bedford, then along the Ouse to Watling Street[1]. But besides determining the limit of the district which had come under Danish rule—the Danelagh[2]—the agreement in other articles will throw some light upon the relations to one another of the two races. In the second their equality in the eye of the law is declared: 'If a man be slain, we all estimate equally dear (i.e. the wergild is the same) English and Danish[3]'; and in the fifth the intercourse between the two is regulated: 'We all agreed that neither bond nor free may go to the Danes without leave, no more than any of them to us. But if it happen that from necessity any one of them wants to have traffic with us, or we with them, that is to be permitted in this wise; hostages are to be given as a pledge of peace, and as evidence that a man 'has a clean back' (i.e. is acting legally[4]).

A permanent Scandinavian element in England.

5. From what has been said it may be seen when Danish influence became important, and in what parts of the country it was likely to be most powerful; something also may be learnt as to the status of the new element in the population: in other words, it may be seen that during the latter half of the 9th

[1] Ærest ymb ure landgemæra. up on Temese & þonne up on Ligan. & andlang Ligan oð hire æwylm. þonne on gerihte to Bedanforda. þonne up on Usan oð Wætlinga-stræt. Thorpe's *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, vol. I. p. 152.

[2] For the geographical sense of *lagh* (=law) in this word, compare the similar use of *lög* (=law) in Icelandic, e.g. *Þrænda-lög*=the jurisdiction of the Thronds. So the word came to denote the district over which the Danish jurisdiction was exercised.

[3] Gif man ofslagen weorðe. ealle we lætað efendyrne. Engliscne & Deniscne. to VIII. healf-marcum.

[4] Ealle we cwædon...þæt ne þeowe ne freo ne moton in þone here (*here* is regularly used in speaking of the Danes) faran butan leafe. ne heora nan þe ma to us. Gif þonne gebyrige þæt for neode heora hwilc wið ure bige habban wille. oþþe we wið heora. mid yrfe & mid æhtum. þæt is to þafianne on þa wisan. þæt man gislas sylle friðe to wedde. & to swutulunge þæt man wite þæt man clæne bæc hæbbe (*another MS. has:* þæt man mid rihte fare). Thorpe, p. 154.

century considerable numbers of those who spoke some form of Scandinavian speech had settled on a footing of equality with the English in the northern and midland parts of the country. Thus a permanent influence had begun to work upon language in England; for though in course of time the overlordship, which Alfred had been forced to relinquish, was regained and held by English kings, this did not involve the expulsion of the Scandinavian element from the parts where it was settled. So in speaking of the success which crowned the efforts of Alfred's son to restore the English supremacy, the Chronicle says under the year 924: 'And then was he chosen father and lord by the king of the Scots...and by Regnald and Eadulf's sons and by all who live in Northumbria, both English and Danish and Northmen[1].' And the names on the map of England still tell not only of the presence at an early time of Scandinavians in certain parts of the country, but also of their permanent settlements[2].

Danish rule in England.

6. A period of permanent settlement had thus followed upon one of mere plundering expeditions, but this second stage in the relations between the English and the Scandinavians was not to be the final one. During a great part of the 10th century little is heard of the Danish attacks; but at its close, when unfortunately for the country the throne was occupied by one whose incompetence has earned for him the title of the *Unready*, they began again. The third stage was then reached, and until 1042 a Danish dynasty ruled in England.

[1] And hine geces þa to fæder and to hlaforde Scotta cyning...and Regnald and Eadulfes suna and ealle þa þe on Norþhymbrum bugeaþ. ægþer ge Englisce ge Denisce ge Norþmen.

[2] The point may be illustrated by some numbers quoted from Taylor's *Words and Places*. Of names denoting permanent settlement he estimates that in Lincolnshire there are about 300; Leicestershire, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and each of the Ridings have about 100 each; Norfolk, Northampton, Notts, Lancashire about 50 each; Suffolk, Derby, Cheshire, Rutland about 12; Bucks, Bedford, Warwick, 6.

7. Before this date, then, for some 250 years the Danes had been in a position to exercise an influence upon England, and for much the greater part of the period their connection with the country had been such as to lead to the expectation that their influence would be very strong. It is in one respect only, in its effect upon language, that we want to appreciate it; but to do this it is necessary to say a few words about their proceedings. It is as a hostile army that they presented themselves, and the most usual name applied to them in the latter half of the 9th century is *se here*, the army[1]. As the entries of the Chronicle during the reigns of Alfred and Ethelred will shew, their activity was irrepressible; and their methods of warfare fairly entitled them to the description given of the early Saxons, 'hostis est omni hoste truculentior.' Like the Saxons, too, they were heathen. For them the churches and monasteries, where were gathered as well material as literary treasures, had no sanctity, and from them the peaceful churchmen and scholars, who had their homes in the religious houses, could expect no quarter. Alfred remembered how he had seen the churches throughout England filled with treasures and books, but it was before the country was wasted by fire and sword[2]. Of such devastation the Chronicle gives example in the year before Alfred came to the throne, when under the year 870 it notes, that the Danes destroyed all the minsters they came to, amongst them Peterborough, which they burned and sacked, slaying abbot and monks, and all that they found there; and the place, which before was very rich,

The character of the Danes as seen in their conflict with the English.

[1] For the force of the word compare the Old English verb *hergian*, to devastate, and in modern languages Danish *hærge* and German *ver-heeren*, which have the same meaning.

[2] Ic gemunde hu ic geseah, ær ðæm ðe hit eall forhergod wære ond forbærned, hu ða ciricean giond eall Angelcynn stodon maðma ond boca gefylda. Pref. to translation of the *Cura Pastoralis*.

they reduced to nothing[1]. Under the same year occurs the notice of King Edmund's slaying, another act of the Danes, the fuller description of which, to be found elsewhere, will shew them in their character of 'hostis truculentus[2].' Later the Chronicle itself will furnish the details of a not less characteristic scene, the death of Archbishop Ælfheah[3]; while from the lamentations of the martyred archbishop's contemporary, Wulfstan[4], a general idea may be got of the miseries into which the country was plunged by its terrible foe.

Destructive influence of the Danes on language.

8. The instances just given of the proceedings of the Danes may suggest that in their presence in England may be found a sufficient cause for the decay of learning which Alfred regretfully recorded. In estimating Danish influence on the language there will, then, be destructive and negative elements to be taken into account. If learning had been continuously cultivated with the success, which, as we have seen, marked the earlier times, it might well have happened that foreign

[1] Hi fordiden ealle þa mynstre þa hi to comon. On þa ilcan tima comon hi to Medeshamstede. beorndon and brǽcon. slogon abbot and munecas. and eall þæt hi þær fundon. macedon hit þa þæt ær wæs fulrice. þa hit wearð to nanþing. A graphic account of the events here so briefly recorded by the *Chronicle* is given in Ingulf's *Chronicle of Croyland.* This work may not be in all respects trustworthy, but the account in question may be taken as fairly representing the methods of the Danes.

[2] The *Chronicle* says simply: Eadmund cyning him (*the Danes*) wiþ feaht. and þa Deniscan sige namon and þone cyning ofslogon. But the Old English homily on St Edmund tells how he was bound by his captors to a tree, and after long scourging was made the target for their javelins, till, like St Sebastian, he was covered all over with the missiles.

[3] Ælfheah, who had fallen into the hands of the Danes, had incensed them by refusing to promise them money, and forbidding others to ransom him. His captors, drunk with wine that had been brought to them, led him forth, and stoned him with bones and the heads of oxen (hine oftorfodon mid banum and mid hryðera heafdum), until a blow on the head from an axe put an end to his martyrdom. *A.-S. Chron.*, an. 1012.

[4] See Wulfstan's *Homilies*, ed. Napier, especially pp. 156 sqq.

words would have made their way into the language in larger numbers than was actually the case; so that in contributing to bring about the decay of learning the Danes may at the same time have been contributing to the preservation of the language from Latin elements. And not only was the cultivation of Latin neglected; in those parts of the country where the Danish element was most prominent the native speech also suffered; and, as we shall see later, the early specimens of the Northern dialect shew a neglect of grammatical accuracy that only at a much later date finds a parallel in the South. It is, thanks to the Danes, apparently, that the North was the first to start on that course, which under the pressure of other disturbing influences was subsequently pursued elsewhere, and which ended in leaving English almost flexionless.

The Danish loan-words not numerous.

9. If we turn now to the positive side, it will be seen that contributions to early English from Scandinavian sources, like those from Celtic and Latin, form an inconsiderable part of the total vocabulary which has been preserved in the early MSS. It should be noticed, however, that the determination of the Scandinavian element has from the nature of the case a special difficulty. Scandinavian speech is so much more akin to English than is either Celtic or Latin, that it is not always easy to decide whether a word is to be assigned to the one or to the other source. But even if some doubtful cases be considered Scandinavian, and if the period, from whose literature the words are drawn, be extended to the middle of the 12th century, so as to include the latest MS. of the A.-S. Chronicle, the list of words so obtainable is not a long one. And of these borrowings, as of the Latin, it may be remarked, that in the majority of cases they do not belong to the general current speech; a considerable proportion of them may be classed as legal terms; some of them are found only in the literature of the North; many appear only in the literature belonging to the latter part of the period under notice. Hence it will appear that to the

language of the Danes, notwithstanding the important part they played in the history of England, the vocabulary of early English, so far as it is known to us from those of its literary remains which belong to times before the Norman Conquest, owed no considerable part of its material.

Some of the loan-words characteristic of their source —words connected with law.

10. In the case of Latin loan-words it was seen how they mark the character of the source from which they came; the same point, naturally, may be observed in the case of the Scandinavian. So the fondness of the Scandinavians for legal procedure, which finds abundant illustration in the old northern literature, and is clearly enough recognizable in England after the establishment of Norman rule, may be traced in the following group of words, all of them more or less terms of law or administration, and together constituting the most considerable section of the borrowed material[1].

[1] It is not merely on the ground of its likeness to a Scandinavian form that a word finds a place in the list which follows; but to give further reasons in each case would be to go somewhat beyond the limits that proportion would fix for this part of our subject. One or two words, however, may be noted by way of illustration. *Brȳd-lōp*, before 1050, is found only in the Northern specimens, being used in the Northern glosses of the gospels to render *nuptiae*, which the West Saxon translation renders by *gifta* (pl.). Of the two instances given in Bosworth's Dictionary of *clæclēas*, one is in an 11th century glossary; there it glosses *immunis*, but is accompanied by *lāþlēas*, which is certainly English, as if it were not a very familiar word; the other is in a late charter belonging to the North of England. *Grið* is frequently used, but only in late Anglo-Saxon times. Thus it does not occur in the *Chronicle* before 1002; and though an instance of its use may be found somewhat earlier in the Laws, yet there it appears freely only in the Laws of Ethelred and later. *Lagu*, again, is found only in Danish times, *ā* being the English word. The position might be illustrated in this instance by a comparison of the renderings of various versions of Matthew xi. 13. In this passage the Latin *lex* is in the West Saxon rendered by *ā*, but in the 12th century modification of this translation *lage* is used; the Icelandic has *lög*-mál, the Danish *lov*.

English.	*Scandinavian.* I. (Icelandic), D. (Danish).
brȳd-lōp *marriage*	I. brul-laup (= brúð-hlaup); D. bryllup
clæc-lēas *free* (immunis)	I. klak-laust *unhurt, scatheless*
crafian *to demand* (at law)	I. krefja; D. kræve *to claim* (e.g. a debt)
for-mǣl, friþ-māl v. māl	
for-word[1] *a stipulation*	D. for-ord *a condition, proviso*
gēatan *to grant*	I. játa *to grant*
griþ *peace, truce*	I. grið; *pl. peace, truce*
hām-sōcn[2] *attacking an enemy in his house*	I. heim-sókn *an attack on one's house*
hamelian *to mutilate*	I. hamla *to maim, mutilate*
hand-fæstan *to betroth*	I. hand-festa *to pledge*
hand-fæstnung *ratification*	I. hand-festning *a pledge*; D. haand-fæstning *a charter*
hūs-ting *a meeting, council*	I. hús-þing *a meeting, council*, to which a king, earl, or captain summoned his people
lagu *law*	I. lög *pl. law*; D. lov
līsing *a freedman*	I. leysingr *a freedman*
māl *a case, an agreement*	I. mál *a case, an agreement, terms*
wiþer-māl *a counter-plea*	
for-mǣl *an agreement*	
friþ-māl *pl. terms of peace*	
marc *a mark* (=8 ounces)	I. mörk *a mark*
ōra *the eighth of a mark*	I. eyrir (*pl.* aurar) *the eighth of a mark*
rād-stefn *a summons carried by a mounted person* (?)	I. stefna *a summons*
rǣdes-mann *a counsellor, steward*	I. ráðs-maðr *a counsellor, steward*
rān = *aperta rapina*	I. rán (in law) *any unlawful seizure of property, robbery*
sac-lēas *innocent*	I. sak-lauss *innocent* (in law)
sam-mǣle *agreed* (v. māl)	cf. I. sam-mæli *an agreement*

[1] In this case, and perhaps also in that of *fore-weard*, the material may be English determined by Scandinavian models.

[2] *Hame-sucken*, the crime of assailing a person within his own house. Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary*.

English.	*Scandinavian.*
sciftan *to divide into shares*	I. skipta *to divide* (an inheritance, &c.)
seht *agreement*; seht *agreed*	I. sátt, sætt *agreement*; sáttr *agreed*
stefnian *to summon*	I. stefna *to summon*; D. stævne
þriþing *a Riding* (as in Yorkshire)	I. þriðjungr *a third part of a shire*
ūt-laga *an outlaw*; other connected forms are ūt-lah, -lagian	I. út-lagi *an outlaw*; other forms are út-lagr (-laga), -lægja
wǣpen-getæc (a term for the district which in Southern English was called *a hundred*) *a wapentake*	I. vápna-tak
wed-brōþer *a confederate*	I. veð-bróðir *a pledged brother, confederate*

Words denoting ranks or classes of persons.

A smaller technical group is formed by words denoting ranks or classes of persons:

bōnda, hūs-bōnda *a householder*	I. bóndi, hús-bóndi
eorl (as a title) *an earl*	I. iarl
hēafdes-mann (*as compared with English* hēafod-mann) *a captain*	I. höfuðs-maðr
hofding *a chief, ringleader*	I. höfðingi
hold (as a title)	I. höldr *an owner of allodial land*
hūs-carl *a member of the king's bodyguard*	I. hús-karl
þēonest-mann *a liegeman*	I. þjónustu-maðr
þrǣl *a thrall, slave*	I. þræll

Nautical words.

Naturally there are words connected with nautical matters:

[bāt-]swegen *a boatman*	I. sveinn *a lad*
butse-carl *a sailor*	I. -karl
cnearr *a kind of ship*	I. knörr *a ship*
hā *an oar-thole*	I. hár *a thole*
hā-sǣta *a rower*	I. há-seti *an oarsman*
hamele *a rowlock*	I. hamla *an oar-loop*
liþ *a fleet*	I. lið *a force by sea or land*
liþs-mann *a sailor*	liðs-maðr *a sailor* or *soldier*
scegþ *a light, swift vessel*	I. skeið *a swift-sailing ship of war*
scegþ-mann *a pirate*	

English.	*Scandinavian.*
snacc *a swift-sailing vessel*	I. snekkja *a swift-sailing vessel*; D. snekke *a bark*
stēores-mann (*as compared with English* stēor-mann) *a steersman*	Swedish, styres-man *a ruler*
weder-fæst *weather-bound*	I. veðr-fastr

Terms connected with war.

There are but few, apparently, connected with war:

arewe (earh *is the English form*) *an arrow*	I. ör, *pl.* örvar
fylcian *to draw up troops*	I. fylkja
genge *troops*	I. gengi
orrest *battle*	I. orrosta

General words.

Other words, which from the more general character of most of them hardly call for classification, are the following:

ceallian *to call* (clipian *is the English word*)	I. kalla
carl *a male*[1]	I. karl
cnīf *a knife* (seax *is the English word*)	I. knífr
cost *condition*; modus	I. kostr *condition, terms*
dreng *a* (*Danish*) *warrior* (used in the *Battle of Maldon*)	I. drengr *a gallant man*
drepan *to kill* (in English the word =*to strike*)	I. drepa *to slay*; D. dræbe
ge-eggian *to egg on* (the word is used in the Northern gospels to translate *concitare*, Mk. 15, 11)	I. eggja *to egg on, incite*
fē(o)-laga *a fellow, partner*[2] fēlageschipe *partnership*	I. fé-lagi *a partner, fellow, mate*

[1] English and Scandinavian use may be illustrated from the *Chronicle* by the English '*wāpmen* and wimmen' under 1123, and '*carlmen* and wimmen' under 1137.

[2] After the division of the kingdom between Edmund and Canute they were 'fēolagan,' *Chron.* 1016.

English.	*Scandinavian.*
gærsum(a) *a treasure, costly thing*[1]	I. görsemi
grā-scinnen *of gray fur*[1]	I. skinn *skin*; grā-skinn *gray fur*
hearma-scinnen *of ermine skin*	
hittan *to meet, come upon*[2]	I. hitta *to meet*
on lofte *in the air, a-loft* (lyft *is the English form*)	I. lopt *the air*; á lopt *a-loft*
nīþing *a villain, dastard*	I. níþingr
Norren *Norwegian*	I. Norrænn
Ōðen, Ōwðen *Odin* (Wōden *is the English form*)	I. Óðinn
ride-soht *fever* (in Northern Gloss, Mk. 1, 31)	I. riðu-sótt *fever, ague*
rōt-fæst *rooted, fixed* (wyrttruma *is the English form for* root)	I. rōt-fastr
scēot *ready, quick* (hræd *is English*)	I. skjótr *quick*
scilian (scip of māle) *to pay off a ship*	I. skilja; cf. D. skille en af med noget *to rid one of something*
scinn *skin*, v. grā-scinnen	
scripp *a scrip, bag*	I. skreppa; D. skreppe
snǣdan *to take a meal*	I. snæða *to take a meal*; snæði *a meal*
sōl (? *or Latin* ?) *sun* (sunne *is the English word*)	I. sól; D. sol
stōr *great*	I. stórr; D. stor
tacan *to take* (niman *is the English word*)	I. taka
taper-æx *a small axe*	I. tapar-öx (*from Russian*)
tīdung *tidings* (perhaps English material influenced by Scandinavian use)	I. tíðindi; D. tidende
toft *a toft, piece of ground*	I. topt *a piece of ground*
þē(o)nest *service*	I. þjónusta
þrinna *three*	I. þrennar
Þūr *Thor* (Þunor *is the English form*)	I. Þórr

[1] Malcolm and his sweoster Margareta geafon him manega gærsama... on scynnan mid pælle betogen, and on merðerne pyleceon, and gráschynnene and hearmascynnene, *Chron.* 1075. *Grāg* is the Old English form of *grey*, and *fell*=skin.

[2] Harold *hytte* hī æt Stemfordbrygge, *Chr.* 1066. Another MS. has the regular English word *gemētte* (met).

English.	*Scandinavian.*
þweng *a band* (in Northern Gloss of Mt. 23, 5; þwang *is the English form*)	I. þvengr
witer *wise, knowing*	I. vitr
wrang *wrong* (subst.)	I. rangr *wrong* (adj.)

11. Some points connected with these lists have been noted already in § 9, as needing to be taken into account when attempting to appreciate the indebtedness of the language to Scandinavian. As an additional point it may be noticed that in many cases the borrowed words occur very seldom, the work they might have done, and which, in some instances, they actually did afterwards, being done by native equivalents. The point deserves notice more particularly in the case of words placed in the last group. For example, the verb *to call*, now and for a long time past so commonly used, occurs only once; the work of language in expressing its idea was done by the native words *clipian* and *cīgan*[1]. *To egg* (*on*), which also occurs once, glosses *concitare* in the Lindisfarne Gospels, but the English word used by the West Saxon translator of the passage, *to stir* (*up*), is the really efficient part of the vocabulary. *To take* is found in the Chronicle in the second half of the 11th century, but up till then *niman* had done the work, and for long afterwards was able to do it. So with other words.

Amount of indebtedness implied by the lists of words given.

[1] The position of the verb *call* at different times may be roughly illustrated in the following way. In the Authorized Version of St Matthew's Gospel it occurs 21 times, but neither in the West Saxon version (c. 1000) nor in the Northern Glosses (10th cent.) is there a single instance of its use; in the West Saxon 17 of the 21 cases in the A.V. are rendered by *clipian* (9), *cīgan* (2), *nemnan* (6); in the Lindisfarne gloss the same three verbs occur 20 times, and in the Rushworth gloss 19 times. Even in the poem (*The Battle of Maldon*) which contains the single instance of *call*, *clipian* is used twice. These figures may illustrate the slight importance in the early literature of the loan-word, *call*, as compared with that of the native words (*clipian* or *cīgan*), while at the same time they suggest that outside the literature the word must have been current.

Taking all these considerations into account, then, it would seem that the early literature, especially if the period be not extended beyond the middle of the 11th century, in respect to its vocabulary was little influenced by the language of the Scandinavians. And, it may be added, in the majority of cases such traces of this foreign influence, as the old vocabulary could shew, have not proved permanent, and in the modern literary language there remain from the lists given above only *crave, husting, law, shift, riding, outlaw; arrow; boat-swain, steersman; husband, earl, thrall; call, knife, to egg (on), fellow, hit, a-loft, skin, scrip, take, tidings, toft, wrong.*

Other evidence of loan-words.

12. But the extent to which a Scandinavian element was used in early England is not determined by the amount of it to be found in Early English literature. Naturally that literature belongs mainly to the part of the country which was least influenced by the Danes, so that little material has come down to us to shew what was the condition of language in districts, where the strength of early Danish influence is still marked by local names, that bear witness to many a Danish settlement. Little as it is, however, it affords evidence of a larger Scandinavian element in the language of such districts than in that of the South. And when from the more abundant material of later times fuller knowledge on the point can be got, this difference between the vocabularies of different parts of the country becomes more apparent. Thus in Layamon's *Brut* (c. 1200), the language of which keeps up much of the traditions of the West Saxon literature, there are few Danish words, while in the East Midland *Ormulum*, written about the same time, the Danish element is considerable. So in other cases; like difference of locality is accompanied by like difference of vocabulary, a condition which is but a continuation of that which must have prevailed in the earlier times of Wessex and the Danelagh.

13. What has just been said about the Old and Middle

English periods might suggest, that words of Danish origin used at any time in England do not all stand on the same footing. Thus words that had been accepted by the most cultivated form of English, and are found in the literature of Wessex, are parts of the Old English vocabulary in a sense somewhat different from that in which words current only in the speech of Mercia or of Northumbria can be so called. And though in the Middle English period, when the pre-eminence of the South was lost, all words found in the writings of any dialect might have an equal claim to be called English, yet with the re-appearance of a pre-eminent form in the shape of the literary speech everywhere current, the distinction also re-appears, and the Danish element in Modern English, the cultivated speech of the whole country, may be distinguished from the Danish words that have only the local currency of a dialect. To give a list of either group would take up too much space; it will be sufficient to refer the student to works in which these two divisions are treated; for the former Appendix IV. (Distribution of words) of Prof. Skeat's *Etymological Dictionary* may be consulted; for the latter an article in *Anglia* xx. pp. 45 sqq. ('A Contribution towards the Study of the Scandinavian element in the English dialects').

Danish words in the literature and in dialects.

14. In connection with the lists just referred to it may be repeated, that their determination is from the nature of the case difficult, and that not merely because English and Scandinavian are nearly related. For it is to be remembered that a complete list of all the words found in Old English MSS. does not contain all the words used in England during the Old English period. These MSS. are but a part of the Old English literature, so that we have not a complete record even of the literary language, and the literary language was then, as it is now, only a part of the whole language-material of the country. If, then, in the English of later times a word is

The determination of a Scandinavian origin for words found in English.

found, which resembles a Scandinavian form, but has no representative in the known vocabulary of Old English, it does not necessarily follow that such a word is borrowed from Scandinavian; the explanation may be simply, that the corresponding Old English form is unrecorded. Various other considerations, however, may help to decide the point. For instance, there are Scandinavian peculiarities, whose presence in words marks these as borrowed. Thus assimilation of sounds takes place in a manner unknown in English; *e.g.* the English *ord*, a point, appears in Icelandic as *odd-r*; with this is connected *oddi*, a triangle, used also of an *odd* number; such a consideration might determine the character of *odd* as a borrowed word. So, too, Scandinavian is the only branch of Teutonic that suffixed the reflexive pronoun to the verb to get the force of a middle or passive voice; *ba-sk* and *bu-sk*, then, in which the suffixed *-sk* occurs, may be fairly traced to Scandinavian. Again, the use of *same* in English seems due to Scandinavian influence. In Old English there is no adjective of corresponding form, though the adverb *same*, in the phrase *swā same*= similarly, is found; *ilca* and *self* did the work now done by *same*, which occurs for the first time in the *Ormulum*, a work which, as has been already noticed, contains many Danish words. But in Icelandic *sam-r* or (in the more usual weak declension) *sami* is as common a word as is *ilca* in English. The change in the declension of *he* is a somewhat parallel case. In Old English the plural forms (*hīe*, nom.; *hiera*, gen.; *him*, dat.) were from the same root as the singular, but later they were displaced by *th-* forms (*they*, *their*, *them*). Now this use is first established in the Northern dialect, so that in the 14th century, while in the southern 'Ayenbite of Inwyt' the plural is still *hi*, *here* or *hare*, *ham*, in the Northern 'Prick of Conscience' it is *þai*, *þair*, *þam*. The probability of Danish influence, which such local distribution suggests, is increased on turning to the declension of the corresponding pronoun in Scandinavian; e.g. Icelandic has *h-* forms in the singular, but

þ- forms (*þei-r*, *þeirra*, *þeim*) in the plural; so that it would seem that Scandinavian influence has brought about the substitution of a demonstrative form in place of the old regular English *hīe*, &c. Such slight instances may illustrate the point noted above, that in the case of a modern English word, which cannot be traced to an old English one, but which is like a Scandinavian form, there are other considerations than mere likeness to be taken into account in determining whether such a word is borrowed or not.

Danish characteristics in English.

15. But not only in additions to the vocabulary and in a tendency towards simplicity in the grammar from the decay of the inflexional system may the Danish influence in English be traced. The earliest Scandinavian prose literature has characteristics, which are not found in the earliest English, and it may be that something of the peculiar character of the Scandinavian has been infused into English. For a statement of the point the following quotation may serve. "The chief impression which is left upon the mind by a course of reading in Icelandic prose is the peculiarity and variety and fertility of the phraseology. This is very striking when viewed in comparison with other Teutonic languages, and not least so when contrasted with Anglo-Saxon. The remarkable freedom and elasticity of Icelandic prose, when compared with the straitness of Anglo-Saxon syntax, is naturally calculated to suggest that the English language has been quickened in its phraseological activity by Danish contact; and when we examine the Icelandic phraseology with much that appears in English in the Transition period, of which Anglo-Saxon affords no adequate account, the idea is greatly confirmed.... When we proceed a step further, and compare the cast of many of our phrases with modern Danish, the apprehension that our phraseology received a strong impulse from the Danelagh gradually shapes itself into a settled conviction[1]."

[1] Review of Cleasby and Vigfusson's *Icelandic Dictionary*, *Quarterly*

But though before the middle of the 11th century there may have been much seed sown by the Danes, which was to be quickened and bear fruit, yet in so far as Old English is known to us from its literature it shews that the time of fruit had not then fully come; and as with Celtic and with Latin, so with Scandinavian, the Old English literature shews only a slight indebtedness to foreign material. Of this literature, from which we can get a knowledge of the oldest English, a short notice will be given in the next chapter.

Review, October, 1875. The sentence which ends with a preposition is more in accord with Icelandic usage than with Anglo-Saxon. In the former such sentences are common, in the latter very rare. In the account of the Norwegian Ohthere's voyage, which Alfred wrote down, an instance occurs when he says the decoy deer were valuable 'for ðæm hȳ fōð ða wildan hrānas *mid*.' But just before he has used the regular Old English construction, when he writes 'spēdig on ðǣm ǣhtum þe heora spēda *on* bēoð,' where as usual the preposition precedes the verb. To translate these words 'wealth in the property that their wealth consists of' would not seem unusual now.

CHAPTER IX.

Object of the chapter—general remarks on the Old English specimens, variety of subjects treated in them, Christian influence strongly marked, the language of Southern England mostly represented—King Alfred as a writer—his translations, Gregory's *Cura Pastoralis*, Orosius' *History*, Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae*—specimen of his original composition—Alfred and the Old English Chronicles—specimen of these Annals—other works associated with Alfred—his influence on later times—Ælfric and his writings—specimen of his style—Wulfstan as a contrast to Ælfric—other Old English prose works grouped according to subjects—Glosses and Glossaries—poetical literature—Kentish, Mercian, and Northumbrian specimens—the retention of the Old English vocabulary in that of Modern English—illustration from the works of Alfred and Ælfric—the employment of the Old English element by later writers illustrated.

1. In briefly noticing here the Old English remains the object will not be to estimate the literary merit which any of them may possess, but to bring out some points connected with the language-material they contain. Whether the subjects dealt with in the literature were suited to artistic treatment, whether they were successfully so treated, are questions beyond the scope of the present chapter. And even in regard to language, it is not so much the capabilities of the language, to be seen in the works of any of the Old English writers, as the extent of the Old English vocabulary, to which attention will be directed; it is not so much the excellence of the instrument, as the material of

Object of the chapter.

which it is composed, that is to be considered. It is not, then, only such remains as might come under the head of literature, that need to be noticed; the glosses and glossaries, which contribute to a knowledge of the vocabulary, must be taken into account.

2. Of the total material, which on the grounds just given may be brought within the limits of consideration, one or two general remarks may be made. In the first place, there is considerable variety in the subjects dealt with; in the literature, theology, history, biography, science, law, fiction, are all represented; in the glossaries many different classes of words are given; and the variety in either case implies a varied and extensive vocabulary. Next, and to this point reference has already been made at the close of Chap. VI., from the character of the subjects treated in the literature it will be seen how much the literature depends upon Christianity; while, from the nature of the case, the glosses and glossaries shew the same influence, for they are all a direct recognition of the scholarship that came with Christianity. And lastly it may be noted that it is mainly from one part of the country that the material is obtained—from the south. In early times, both in political and literary respects, Northumbria had been important; later, however, Wessex became the chief English power and the home of literature, and it is to Wessex that most of the Old English remains belong. It is, then, in the main, Southern English that is the representative of the early times, and of its specimens a few words may now be said.

General remarks on the Old English specimens—variety of subjects treated in them.

Christian influence strongly marked.

The speech of Southern England mostly represented.

3. In speaking of the Early English prose the name that deservedly claims to be first mentioned is that of King Alfred. Loving and valuing learning himself, he desired that others should enjoy the benefits of which learning was the source; and

King Alfred as a writer—his translations.

with a generous confidence that English scholars would be like-minded with himself, and would co-operate with him, he set about doing his part towards giving effect to his desire[1]. As a result of work, carried on as he himself says 'among other divers and manifold occupations of the kingdom[2],' we have some of our most valuable material for determining the condition of Early English. For the benefit of the clergy, whose lack of learning he deplored, he translated[3] the *Cura Pastoralis* of Gregory, with the intention of sending a copy of the translation to each episcopal city for preservation in the church there. Two MSS. of this work, one of them intended for Worcester, have come down from Alfred's time, and their linguistic value,

The *Cura Pastoralis* of Gregory.

[1] In his practical adoption of the Christian injunction, 'Freely ye have received, freely give,' and in the courtesy with which he gives credit to others for a will as good as his own, the king shews himself a true Christian gentleman. 'Ic đē bebīode đæt đū dō, *swā ic geliefe đæt đū wille*, đæt đū đē đissa woruldđinga tō đæm geæmetige, swā đū oftost mæge, đæt đū đone wīsdōm đe đē God sealde đær đū hiene befæstan mæge, befæste. Geđenc hwelc wītu ūs đā becōmon for đisse worulde, đā đā wē hit nōhwæđer ne selfe ne lufodon, ne ēac ōđrum monnum ne lēfdon: đone naman ānne wē lufodon đætte wē Cristne wæren, ond swīđe fēawe đā đēawas, *I bid thee* (the bishop to whom the copy of the translation was addressed) *to do, as I believe that thou art willing, that is, to disengage thyself from these worldly matters as often as thou canst, to the end that thou bestow, where thou canst, the wisdom that God hath given thee. Consider what punishments would come upon us in regard to this world, when we neither loved it ourselves, nor allowed it to other men; the name only of being Christians we should love, and very few of the practices.*' Preface to the translation of the *Cura Pastoralis*.

[2] Ongemang ōđrum mislīcum ond manigfealdum bisgum đisses kynerīces. *ib.*

[3] It is interesting to learn from Alfred himself how he worked. 'I began to turn the book into English that is called in Latin *Pastoralis*, and in English 'Herd-book,' sometimes word for word, sometimes sense for sense, as I learned it from Plegmund my archbishop, and from Asser my bishop, and from Grimbold my mass-priest, and from John my mass-priest. After I had learned it then, as I understood it, and as I could most intelligibly explain it, I turned it into English.'

as shewing the actual condition of the language at the date of writing, is evident. For the furtherance of knowledge in another direction he translated the general history of Orosius[1], and of this work a MS. (not quite complete) dating from the 9th century has been preserved. In the *Orosius*, as in the *Pastoral Care*, Alfred is seen not only as a translator; he has contributed original material which, besides being interesting from its connection with him, is of considerable interest intrinsically. The introductory geographical chapter of the original is supplemented by a detailed account of Germanic Europe. In this Alfred has incorporated the narratives of two travellers, one of whom, Ohthere, a Norwegian of Hálogaland, had sailed round the North Cape and made his way into the White Sea; the other, Wulfstan, had explored the Baltic. It is, then, to Alfred that we owe the first specimens in a department of the literature—the literature of Voyages and Travels—which in later times has been so extensive, and which has interested so many readers[2]. To a third work of Alfred—the translation of Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae*[3] —an even stronger personal interest attaches than to the two already noticed. From the

The history of Orosius.

The *De Consolatione Philosophiae* of Boethius.

[1] Orosius was a Spanish priest, who in 410 becoming acquainted with Augustine was persuaded by him to write a historical work with the special object of refuting the charge brought against Christianity of bringing ruin on the Roman world. His work naturally found favour with the clergy, and it is therefore not surprising that it takes its place among books that were translated by one who acted under such direction as did Alfred. (*v.* preceding note.)

[2] To all such readers the words which introduce the narratives in question, "Ohthere sæde his hlaforde, Ælfrede cyninge," and "Wulfstan sæde," may suggest scenes, in which the part of hearer, played by the king, excites their sympathetic interest.

[3] In this case the Christianity of the author translated was not indubitable, as it was in the cases of Gregory and Orosius. But whether Boethius was a Christian or not, his work was of such a character that there was nothing in it which the translator would consider inconsistent with

character of the subject-matter of the original there was opportunity for a translator, who allowed himself such freedom as was possible in the method that Alfred declares his own to have been[1], to introduce his own thoughts, and shew something of his own inner life. How far translation was at times substituted for original composition the very interesting passage, in which the king gives his ideas upon the duties of the kingly office, will shew; and at the same time it may serve as a specimen of early English prose. The original Latin has simply: 'Tum ego, Scis, inquam, ipsa minimum nobis ambitionem mortalium rerum fuisse dominatum; sed materiam gerendis rebus optavimus, quo ne virtus tacita consenesceret.' In these words the king seems to recognize the brief statement of his own case; so quite in accord with his principle of giving 'sense for sense' (*andgit of andgicte*), instead of literally rendering the words of Boethius, he states that case more fully.

(On the italicized words see § 15.)

Specimen of Alfred's original composition.

Þæt Mod[2] þus cwæð: Eala, *Gesceadwisnes*[2], hwæt þu wast þæt me næfre seo *gitsung* and seo *gemæg*ð þisses eorðlican *anwealdes for* wel *ne* licode, *ne* ic ealles *forswiðe ne* girnde þisses eorðlican *rices*, buton tola ic *wilnode* þeah and *andweorces* to þam weorce *þe* me *beboden* wæs to wyrcanne; þæt wæs þæt ic *un-*

The Mind thus spoke: Ah, Reason, thou knowest that never did covetousness and greed for earthly power over-well please me, nor did I at all over-much long for earthly rule, but tools, however, I did desire, and material for the work that was bidden me to do; that was

Christianity, and the translation is a Christian work. The earliest MS. of the translation belongs to the 10th century, and so is somewhat later than Alfred's time. Its language differs somewhat from that of the *Pastoral Care* and of the *Orosius*, and is thought to shew some of the peculiarities of the Kentish dialect.

[1] *v.* p. 153, n. 3.

[2] The two persons of the dialogue, Boethius and Philosophy, are represented in Alfred's translation by the Mind (Mod) and Reason (Gesceadwisnes).

fracodlice and *gerisenlice* mihte steoran and *reccan* þone *anwald* þe me *befæst* wæs. Hwæt þu wast þæt nan mon ne mæg nænne cræft *cyðan ne* nænne *anweald reccan ne* stioran buton tolum and *andweorce.* Þæt bið ælces cræftes *andweorc* þæt mon þone cræft buton wyrcan ne mæg. Þæt bið þonne cyninges *andweorc* and his tol mid to *ricsianne*, þæt he hæbbe his lond fullmonnad; he sceal habban *gebedmen* and *fyrdmen* and weorcmen. Hwæt þu wast þætte butan þissan tolan nan cyning his cræft ne mæg *cyðan.* Þæt is eac his *ondweorc* þæt he habban sceal to ðæm tolum þam þrim *geferscipum biwiste.* Þæt is þonne heora *biwist*: land to *bugianne*, and gifta, and wæpnu, and mete, and ealo, and claþas, and gehwæt þæs þe þa þre *geferscipas* behofiað. *Ne* mæg he butan þissum þas tol gehealdan, ne buton þisum tolum nan þara þinga wyrcan þe him *beboden* is to wyrcenne. For þy ic *wilnode andweorces* þone *anweald mid* to *reccenne*, þæt mine cræftas and *anweald ne wurden* forgitene and *forholene.* For þam ælc cræft and ælc *anweald* bið sona *forealdod* and *forsugod*, gif he bið buton wisdome; for ðæm *ne* mæg nan mon nænne cræft forð bringan buton wisdome; for ðæm ðe swa hwæt swa þurh *dysig* gedon bið, *ne* mæg hit mon næfre to cræfte *gereccan.* Þæt is nu *hraðost* to secganne, þæt ic *wilnode weorðfullice* to libbanne þa hwile þe ic lifde, and æfter minum life þæm monnum to læfanne þe æfter me wæren min gemynd on godum weorcum[1].

that honourably and properly I might guide and direct the power that was committed to me. Why, thou knowest that no man can shew forth any craft, or direct and guide any power, without tools and material. The material of every craft is that, without which the craft cannot be practised. This, then, is the material of a king, and his tools to rule with, that he have his land full-manned; he must have men to pray and men to fight and men to work. Why, thou knowest that without these tools no king can shew forth his craft. That, too, is his material that he must have in addition to the tools, provision for the three fellowships. This, then, is their provision: land to inhabit, and gifts, and weapons, and meat, and ale, and clothes, all that the three fellowships need. He cannot without these preserve these tools, nor without these tools do any of the things that is bidden him to do. Therefore I desired material wherewith to direct the power, that my crafts and power should not get forgotten and concealed. For every craft and every power will become obsolete and be passed over in silence, if it is without wisdom; for no man can bring forth any craft without wisdom; for whatever is done by folly, that no man can ever account as a craft. To be brief, I desired to live honourably while I lived, and after my life to leave to the men that were after me a memorial of me in good works.

[1] Boethius, Bk II. prosa 7.

4. Besides these works, mostly, though not entirely, translations, which may certainly[1] be attributed to Alfred, the Old English literature probably has to thank him for its most remarkable specimens of original prose—the Chronicles. The relations to one another of the MSS.—seven in number—in which these are preserved, need not be discussed here[2], but one point connected with them deserves notice: viz., that as far as the year 892 they all seem to have had a common original. Further, the handwriting and the language of the earliest part of the oldest MS. belong to about the end of the 9th century. Again, while for the years before the middle of the 9th century the entries are for the most part brief, after that date, and consequently in times of which Alfred had knowledge, they become full, and seem to have been made not long after the events which they describe had taken place[3]. These conditions certainly favour the supposition, which is quite in accordance with all that we know of him, that the common original spoken of just above is closely connected with Alfred; and in the absence of any direct evidence the views expressed in the following passage will probably meet with general acceptance. 'To whom are we to attribute this earliest form[4] of the national Chronicle? I have no hesitation in declaring that in my opinion the popular answer is in this case the right

Alfred and the Old English Chronicles.

[1] Until recently the Old English version of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* was attributed to Alfred, but its latest editor, Dr Miller (in the Early English Text Society's Publications, Nos. 95, 96, 110, 111), brings evidence to shew that the 'most archaic of the MSS. originated in North Mercia, and belongs to the 10th century.' As a translation it differs very much from Alfred's known work, often following the Latin with painful fidelity.

[2] See *Two Saxon Chronicles*, ed. Plummer, the Introduction to Vol. II.

[3] The first person is used by the writer of the Chronicle in the entry of 893: On þysum geare for se micla here þe *we* gefyrn ymbe spræcon; and again in 897: *Ic* ðа geðungnestan nemde.

[4] The original of the part, coming down to 892, which is common to all the MSS.

one: it is the work of Alfred the Great. I do not mean that the actual task of compiling the Chronicle from the earlier materials was necessarily performed by Alfred, though I can well fancy that he may have dictated some of the later annals which describe his own wars. But that the idea of a national Chronicle as opposed to merely local annals was his, that the idea was carried out under his direction and supervision, this I do most firmly believe. And we may, I think, safely place in the forefront of the Chronicle the inscription which encircles Alfred's Jewel: Aelfred mec heht gewyrcan, 'Alfred ordered me to be made[1].'

Old English prose illustrated from the Chronicles.

5. The following extract, which is interesting as dealing with naval matters, may serve as a specimen of Early English prose: it occurs under the year 897:

Þy ilcan geare drehton þa hergas on East-Englum and on Norðhymbrum Westseaxna lond swiðe be ðæm suðstæðe mid stælhergum, ealra swiþust mid ðæm æscum þe hie fela geara ær timbredon. Þa het Ælfred cyng timbran langscipu ongen ða æscas; þa wæron fulneah tu swa lange swa þa oðru; sume hæfdon .lx. ara, sume ma; þa wæron ægðer ge swiftran ge unwealtran ge eac hieran þonne þa oðru; næron nawðer ne on Fresisc gescæpene ne on Denisc, bute swa him selfum ðuhte

In the same year the Danes in East Anglia and in Northumbria harassed Wessex very much by the south coast with marauding bands, most of all with the 'asks' (boats) that they many years before had built. Then king Alfred gave orders to build long ships against the 'asks'; they were well nigh twice as long as the others; some had 60 oars, some more; they were both swifter and steadier and also higher than the others; they were built neither on Frisian nor on Danish lines, but as

[1] *Two Saxon Chronicles*, ed. Plummer, vol. II. p. civ. For the continuations of the work so begun, as they are found in different MSS., see the same edition. It may be noted that Gaimar (12th century) connects Alfred with the Chronicle:

Il fist ecrivere un livre Engleis,
Des aventures, e des leis,
Et de batailles de la terre,
Et des reis ki firent la guere.

þæt hie nytwyrðoste beon meahten. þa æt sumum cirre þæs ilcan geares comon þær sex scipu to Wiht, and þær mycel yfel gedydon, ægðer ge on Defenum ge welhwær be ðæm særiman. þa het se cyng faran mid nigonum to þara niwena scipa, and forforon him þone muðan foran on utermere. þa foron hie mid þrim scipum ut ongen hie, and þreo stodon æt ufeweardum þæm muðan on drygum, wæron þa men uppe on londe of agane. þa gefengon hie þara þreora scipa tu æt ðæm muðan utewearðum, and þa men ofslogon, and þæt an oðwand; on þæm wæron eac þa men ofslægene buton fifum: þa comon for ðy onweg ðe ðara oþerra scipu assæton. þa wurdon eac swiðe uneðelice aseten; þreo assæton on ða healfe þæs deopes ðe ða Deniscan scipu aseten wæron, and þa oðru eall on oþre healfe, þæt hira ne mehte nan to oðrum. Ac ða þæt wæter wæs ahebbad fela furlanga from þæm scipum, þa eodan ða Deniscan from þæm þrim scipum to þæm oðrum þrim þe on hira healfe beebbade wæron, and hie þa þær gefuhton. þær wearð ofslægen...ealra monna Fresiscra and Engliscra .lxii. and þara Deniscena .cxx. þa com þæm Deniscum scipum þeh ær flod to, ær þa Cristnan mehten hira ut ascufan, and hie for ðy ut oðreowon; þa wæron hie to þæm gesargode, þæt hie ne mehton Suð-seaxna lond utan berowan, ac hira þær tu

it seemed to himself that they could be most serviceable. Then one time that year there came six ships to the Isle of Wight, and there did much mischief, both in Devon and everywhere by the coast. Then the king gave orders to go to the place with nine of the new ships, and they blockaded the mouth of the river for them (the Danes), lying ready for them outside. Then they (the Danes) went with three ships out to meet them, and three lay up the mouth on dry ground, the men had gone off up inland. Then they (the English) took two of the three ships outside the mouth, and slew the men, and the one escaped; in that too the men were slain except five: they got away because the others' ships grounded. They had got grounded too very inconveniently; three grounded on the side of the water that the Danish ships were aground, and the others all on the other side, so that none of them could get to the other. But when the water was ebbed many furlongs from the ships, then the Danes went from the three ships to the other three, that had been left high and dry by the ebb-tide on their side, and they fought there then. There were slain of all the men Frisian and English 62, and of the Danes 120. Then however the flood came to the Danish ships before the Christians could shove theirs out, and so they rowed off out to sea; they had been so wounded though, that they could not row round Sussex, but two of them the sea

sæ on lond wearp, and þa men mon lædde to Winteceastre to þæm cynge, and he hie ðær ahon het. And þa men comon on East-Engle þe on þæm anum scipe wæron swiðe forwundode.

there cast ashore, and the men were carried to Winchester to the king, and he gave orders to hang them there. And the men came to East Anglia that were on the one ship very severely wounded.

Only one entry intervenes between this record of Alfred's activity and the notice of his death; the opening words of the annal for 901 are: 'Her gefor Ælfred Aþulfing.' But the work he had begun did not cease with his death; in different religious houses, such as Winchester, Canterbury, and Peterborough, records seem to have been kept, and the Chronicle of each house was from time to time brought up to date[1], with the result that we have the seven MSS. already referred to. That which is connected with Peterborough shews the old practice longest continued; the last of its annals occurs under the date 1154, so that at least two hundred and fifty years lie between the earliest and latest entries of the MSS.[2] Certainly in the Chronicle and in his translations we may still see the realization of Alfred's desire, that he might leave to the men that were after him a memorial of himself in good works.

Other works associated with Alfred.

6. There are other works than these just mentioned that have been connected with Alfred's name, but which for different reasons can hardly be considered to be of equal importance with them. An English translation of Augustine's *Soliloquies* and his letter 'De videndo deo' exists in a MS. of the 12th century, and concludes with the words: Hær endiað ða cwidas þe Ælfred kining alæs of þære bec þe we hatað...(*Here end the sentences that king Alfred selected from the book that we call...*). The correctness

[1] See, for instance, the variety of hands in the MS. which is generally supposed to have belonged to Winchester. Plummer's edition, vol. II. p. xxv.

[2] As interesting specimens of English prose, besides the account of Alfred's reign, the account of his son, Edward's, of Ethelred's, and of Stephen's may be cited.

of the statement has been called in question by some scholars, but its English editor, Cockayne, accepts Alfred's authorship; in any case, however, so late a copy has not the interest which belongs to a contemporary MS. In *The Shrine*[1], where this work is printed, the same editor gives an Old English Martyrology, of which he says: 'We must conclude that this Martyrology is of the age of Alfred; it is further directly indebted to that king himself, and doubtless composed under his direction.' It is not necessary to say more on this point; for the main object of the chapter, which is to suggest that the amount of material contained in the Old English specimens is considerable, will not be affected by doubts as to the authorship of any particular work.

Alfred's influence on later times—Ælfric.

7. But be the list of his works what it may, it was not by them only that Alfred benefited English literature. The men that were after him had his example to influence them, and in this way we may connect with him the greatest of the Old English prose writers. Ælfric, in the preface to the first series of his *Homilies*, gives as the reason for undertaking that work, that for those who did not know Latin there were no books containing Gospel teaching, except those 'that King Alfred turned from Latin into English.' The need which Alfred had recognised was still present, and the means which Alfred used to meet it were those adopted by Ælfric, whose aim may be fairly described by the words which set forth that which Alfred proposed to himself and to the scholars of his time, 'that some of the books, that may be most necessary for all men to know, that those we turn into the language that we all can understand.'

Ælfric's writings.

8. Naturally their different positions led Alfred and Ælfric[2] to look in somewhat different directions for such books. Ælfric was a theologian, an

[1] *The Shrine.* A collection of occasional papers on dry subjects. Rev. O. Cockayne, 1864—70. The Martyrology may also be found in the E. E. T. Society's publications for 1900 (No. 116). The views of the editor differ somewhat from those of Cockayne.

[2] Ælfric was a pupil of Athelwold, bishop of Winchester (d. 984). His

ecclesiastic, and a teacher, and in all his writings one or other character is apparent. Under the first head he is represented by his *Homilies*[1], of which he compiled three series, each originally containing forty discourses; by his Biblical translations and adaptations, in which the following parts of the Scriptures were more or less completely rendered into English—the Pentateuch, the books of Joshua, Judges, Kings, Daniel, Job, Esther, Maccabees, (probably) Judith; by his treatise on the Old and New Testament, which forms a practical historical introduction to the Scriptures; and (probably) by the Old English abridgement of Alcuin's work on Genesis. As an ecclesiastic he is seen in the Pastoral Letter

first known work, written when he was a 'monk and mass-priest,' was completed not long after 990, as it is dedicated to Archbishop Sigeric (archbishop of Canterbury from 990 to 994). In later writings he speaks of himself as abbot, and it was probably in the abbey of Eynsham, in Oxfordshire, that he held this office. Before attaining this dignity he had lived for some time at Cernel (Cerne Abbas in Dorset). The time of his death is not known.

[1] As descriptive of these three books of Homilies Ælfric's own words about them may be quoted: 'We translated in the two former books the passions and the lives of the saints that the English honour with festivals. Now it has seemed good to us that we should write this book (the third series) about the passions and lives of the saints that monks in their services honour amongst themselves.' With regard to the style in the three series it may be noted that while in the first two alliteration is often used, the third series is almost entirely metrical. Besides these collections there are single tracts, similar in kind to the Homilies, which either certainly or with great probability may be connected with Ælfric. To the latter class belong the translations of St Basil's *Hexameron* and of the same writer's *Advice to a Spiritual Son*. While speaking of these works of Ælfric it may be remarked, that not only directly, by furnishing considerable specimens of the language, have they been of service to the study of Old English, but also indirectly. The reformers of the 16th century considered that his writings enabled them to appeal to the example of the Early English Church in support of their views on many points in which they differed from Rome, and this led to the search for Anglo-Saxon MSS, and, as in the case of Archbishop Parker, to the collecting of a considerable number which might otherwise have been lost.

which he wrote for Bishop Wulfsige, to be used by that prelate in addressing his subordinate clergy, through whose 'frowardness the canon laws, and the religion and doctrines of holy church were destroyed'; and in a similar composition made for Archbishop Wulfstan. From Ælfric the teacher we have the first Latin-English Grammar, which he compiled for the use of boys in the monastic schools; and the Latin-English Glossary, which is found in seven out of the fifteen existing MSS. of the grammar, is almost certainly by him[1]; to him, also, with great probability is attributed the Old English abridgement of Bede's work *De Temporibus*, which, like the grammar, may have served as a text-book in the monastic schools.

If, now, we consider the variety and extent of the subject-matter which is contained in the works that in the preceding paragraph have been attributed to Ælfric, we may see how much it says for the development of the native language-material, that almost exclusively by means of such material was that subject-matter expressed. The matter may have been obtained from Latin sources, but the language of the source left little trace on the language of the writer.

9. As a specimen of Ælfric's writing may be given the following passage, which at the same time, perhaps, may illustrate the feeling towards the secular clergy that was entertained by some of the followers of Dunstan and Athelwold; it is taken from the prefatory epistle to the translation of Genesis:

Specimen of Ælfric's prose.

[1] Ælfric's Latin teaching may be further illustrated by the interesting Latin colloquy which seems to have been intended to take its place in the schools alongside the Grammar and Glossary. In the MS. which gives what seems the original form of the Colloquy the Latin text is provided with English glosses, but as these are hardly the work of Ælfric, the composition does not call for notice when speaking of him as an English author.

(On the italicized words see § 15.)

Nu þincð me, þæt þæt weorc is *swiðe pleolic* me oðde ænigum men to *underbeginnenne*; for þan *þe* ic *ondræde*, gif sum dysig man þas boc ræt oðde rædan gehyrð, þæt he wille wenan þæt he mote lybban nu on þære niwan *æ* swa swa þa ealdan fæderas leofodon *þa* on þære tide, ær þan *þe* seo ealde *æ* gesett wære, oðde swa swa men leofodon under Moyses *æ*. Hwilon ic wiste þæt sum mæssepreost, se *þe* min magister wæs on þam timan, hæfde þa boc Genesis, and he cuðe be dæle Lyden understandan; *þa* cwæð he be þam *heahfædere* Iacobe, þæt he hæfde feower wif. Ful soð he sæde, ac he nyste *ne* ic *þa* git, hu micel *todal* ys betweohx þære ealdan *æ* and þære niwan....þa *ungelæredan* preostas, gif hi hwæt litles understandað of þam Lydenbocum, þonne þincð him sona, þæt hi magon *mære lareowas* beon, ac hi *ne* cunnon swa þeah þæt gastlice *andgit* þærto, and hu seo ealde *æ* wæs getacnung toweardra þinga, *oðde* hu seo niwe *gecyðnis* æfter Cristes *menniscnysse* wæs *gefillednys* ealra þæra þinga *þe* seo ealde *gecyðnis* getacnode towearde be Criste and be hys gecorenum... We secgað eac *foran-to*, þæt seo boc is *swiðe* deop gastlice to understandenne, and we *ne* writað na mare buton þa nacedan *gerecednisse*. Þonne þincð ðam *ungelæredum*, þæt eall þæt *andgit* beo *belocen* on þære *anfealdan gerecednisse*, ac hit ys *swiðe* feor þam.

Now methinks that the work (the translation of Genesis) is very perilous for me or for any man to undertake; for I fear, if some foolish man reads this book or hears it read, that he will suppose, that he may live now in the new law, as the patriarchs lived then, in the time before the old law was instituted, or as men lived under Moses' law. Once I knew that a certain priest, who was my master at that time, had the book of Genesis, and he could imperfectly understand Latin; then he said about the patriarch Jacob, that he had four wives. He said what was quite true, but he did not know, nor did I at that time, how much difference there is between the old law and the new.... The unlearned priests, if they understand some little out of Latin books, then it seems to them at once, that they can be great teachers; but they do not know however the spiritual sense in these cases, and how the old law was a symbolizing of things to come, or how the New Testament after Christ's incarnation was the fulfilment of all those things that the Old Testament had shewn symbolically were to happen concerning Christ and his elect....We say, too, beforehand, that the book is very deep to understand spiritually, and we shall write no more but the bare narrative; then it will seem to the unlearned, that all the meaning is included in the simple narrative, which is very far from being the case.

10. In Alfred and Ælfric we have the representative writers of the early and late stages respectively of cultivated Old English, though each wrote in times, which from the same cause were adverse to scholarship. That such adverse conditions existed for Alfred we may learn from his writings, but in those of Ælfric there is little to suggest that the writer did not live in times of peace[1]. The disasters of Ethelred's reign might have given occasion to the best prose writer of the time to use all the resources of the language in giving expression to the thoughts that arose in him, but no such passage can be quoted from Ælfric. It is to his contemporary, Wulfstan, archbishop of York, that we must turn for a preacher whom the circumstances of the time moved to speak, and the following passage may at once serve as a specimen of a style different from that of Ælfric, and give a picture that will further illustrate the relations of English and Dane referred to in a previous chapter:

Wulfstan—his style in contrast with Ælfric's.

And hu mæg mare scamu þurh Godes yrre mannum gelimpan þonne us deð gelome for agenum gewyrhtum? Đeah þræla hwylc hlaforde æthleape, and of cristendome to wicinge weorðe, and hit æfter þam eft geweorðe þæt wæpngewrixl weorðe gemæne þegene and þræle; gyf þræl þæne þegen fullice afylle, licge ægylde ealre his mægðe; and gyf se þegen þæne þræl þe he ær ahte

And how can more shame through God's anger befall men than does us again and again for our own deserts? Let but any thrall run away from a lord, and from being Christian turn pirate, and let it afterwards come to pass that there happen crossing of weapons between thane and thrall; if a thrall strike the thane down dead, he (the thane) shall lie without wergild paid to any of his kin; and if the thane strike the thrall down dead, that he before had owned, he

[1] Only very slight evidence could be got from Ælfric's writings that the Danes were ravaging England, such for instance as his remark on the translation of the book of Judith: 'It is translated into English as an example for you men, that you may defend your country against the foe that attacks it'; or his illustration of *justum bellum* as 'war with the fierce seamen or with other people that want to destroy the country.'

ſullice afylle, gylde þegengylde. Ne dohte hit nu lange inne ne ute, ac wæs here and hete on gewelhwilcum ende oft and gelome, and Engle nu lange eal sigelease, and to swyðe geyrgde þurh Godes yrre, and flotmen swa strange þurh Godes geþafunge, þæt oft on gefeohte an fyseð tyne, and twegen oft twentig, eal for urum synnum. And oft þræl þæne þegen þe ær wæs his hlaford cnyt swyðe fæste, and wyrcþ him to þræle þurh Godes yrre. Wala ðære yrmðe and wala þære woruldscame þe nu habbað Engle eal þurh Godes yrre. Oft twegen sæmen oððe þry driſað þa drafe cristenra manna fram sæ to sæ ut ðurh þas þeode gewelede togædere us eallum to woruldscame, gyf we on eornost ænige scame cuðan. Ac ealne þæne bysmor þe we oft þoliað we gyldað mid weorðscipe þam þe us scendað; we him gyldað singallice, and hy us hynað dæghwamlice. Hy hergað and hy bernað, rypað and reaſiað, and to scipe lædað; and la hwæt is ænig oðer on eallum þam gelimpum butan Godes yrre ofer þas þeode swutol and gesene?

shall pay a thane's wergild. It has not gone well with us now for a long time past, but there has been wasting and war in every quarter often and often, and the English now for long past have been unvictorious, and have been made faint-hearted through God's anger, and the seamen (Danes) are so strong through God's consent, that often in fight one puts to flight ten, and two often twenty, all for our sins. And often a thrall binds fast the thane that before was his lord, and makes (him) his thrall, through God's anger. Alas for the misery and alas for the shame that the English now have all through God's anger. Often two seamen (Danes) or three drive the droves of Christian men from sea to sea out through this people banded together to the shame of us all, if we indeed could feel any shame. But all the disgrace that we often suffer we pay with honour to those that put us to shame; we pay them continually, and they humble us daily. They harry and they burn, rob and reave, and carry on board; and behold, is any other thing in all that happens, except God's anger over this people, manifest and visible?

Other Old English prose works grouped according to subjects.

11. Of other works than those already noticed little more than the names can be given; but a mere list of them, if the character and variety of the subjects they treat be considered, may serve both as a further illustration of the influence of Christianity on Old English literature, and as an indication of the extent of the vocabulary they contain.

Religious and Ecclesiastical writings.

Biblical translation. The first fifty Psalms (of the remainder there is a metrical rendering); the Gospels; the Gospel of Nicodemus.

Homilies. The Blickling Homilies, a collection of nineteen, preserved in a MS. at Blickling.

Ecclesiastical. A translation of the Benedictine Rule; translations of Ecgbert's Confessional and Penitential; an English *Indicia Monasterialia* (an account of the signs to be used instead of speech, when the rule of the monastery imposed silence).

Ecclesiastical Biography. The Life of St Guthlac.

Scientific writings.

Bridferth's *Enchiridion*, in which arithmetical, astronomical, and grammatical points are treated. Bridferth taught in the school at Ramsey, and is supposed to have been the best English mathematician in the latter half of the 10th century.

Medical works. Translations of the *Herbarium* of Apuleius and of the *Medicina de Quadrupedibus* of Sextus Placitus; several books of prescriptions and recipes. These collections are particularly noticeable as giving a very large number of English plant-names[1].

Legal documents. From the time of Æthelbert of Kent, the first English king to receive Christianity, there are the laws passed in the reigns of many of the English kings. These contain a considerable technical vocabulary of legal terms.[2]

Charters. There is a considerable number of these in English as well as in Latin. As in either case the boundaries

[1] The amount of material contained in these medical works will be seen at a glance on turning to the edition of them by Cockayne, in the Master of the Rolls Series, which occupies three volumes.

[2] A comparison of the later with the earliest laws may shew how, during the period in which the influences connected with Christianity were operative, the language was steadily advancing from the stage it had reached at the time when Christianity was introduced.

of land, when that is the subject of grant, are given in English, the charters contain many words denoting the natural features of the country.

Wills. Of these there are several specimens. Enumerating, as they do, the different articles of property, whose disposition they determine, their vocabulary is often interesting.

Rural Economy. There is a short treatise on the rights and duties of the several persons employed upon an estate, and another on the office of a reeve. From the two may be gained a pretty complete agricultural vocabulary.

Historical writing. Some fragments, dealing with native history, are given by Cockayne at the end of the third volume of his *Leechdoms*; and as a representative of ancient history there is a translation of Alexander's epistle to Aristotle.

Fiction. This is represented by the translation of the story, so long popular, *Apollonius of Tyre.*

Other writings. Short treatises on the interpretation of dreams and on prognostics by the moon's age, and a number of charms may illustrate the superstitions which were not eradicated by Christianity; the Dialogue of Salomon and Saturn gives a sort of catechism of general knowledge; and a collection of proverbs offers some specimens of the native mother-wit.

Glosses and Glossaries.

12. Besides these works, which give not only an English vocabulary, but also the native construction, there are others which give only an English vocabulary. These are the glosses to Latin works, in which all or the more difficult Latin words were accompanied by the English equivalents. Several MSS. of the Psalms have been so treated, and the MS. at Lambeth Palace contains, besides glosses to the Psalms, glosses to the Apostles' and Athanasian Creeds, and to many of the 'songs' (e.g. the Song of Moses) found in the Bible; there are interlinear versions of a Hymnarium, of the Benedictine Rule, of the *De Consuetudine Monachorum*, of the *Liber Scintillarum*, of

Gregory's *Dialogues*; and glosses to works of Aldhelm and Prudentius.

Lastly, there are the Latin-English glossaries[1], one of which, Ælfric's, has already been mentioned. In some cases these are arranged according to subjects, in others a nearer approach has been made to the modern dictionary by arranging the Latin words more or less in alphabetical order.

The poetical literature.

13. With the same general objects in view as those set forth in the case of the above list of prose specimens a brief mention may now be made of the poems that have not already been noticed in Chapter VII. Old Testament story furnishes material for Old English verse from the books of Genesis, Exodus, and Daniel; to Christian sources were due Cynewulf's *Crist*, and poems whose subjects were *The Harrowing of Hell*, *Doom's-day*, *The Dream of the Rood*, *The Departed Soul's Address to the Body*; the heroes of the Church give occasion for poems on *The Fates of the Apostles*, on *St Juliana* and *St Guthlac*, and for a *Menologium*; the legend of the finding of the Cross is the subject of Cynewulf's *Elene*; poems on *The Phenix*, *The Whale*, and the *Panther* give a Christian application to mythical natural history; and metrical renderings of Scripture are represented by a turning of the last hundred Psalms into Old English verse, and by a similar treatment of the Lord's Prayer.

Of a secular character, though not without allusions to Christianity, are poems on the various gifts, fates, and dispositions of men; on the advice of a father to his son; and the verses in the *Chronicle* on Edmund, Edgar, Alfred, Ethelred's son, and Edward the Confessor. Corresponding with the Boethius, the Dialogue of Salomon and Saturn, and the collection of Proverbs in the prose, may be placed the metrical version of the metres in Boethius, the poetical Dialogue of

[1] A reference to Wright's two volumes of *Vocabularies*, or to Wülcker's later edition of the same, will shew the amount of English material which is thus recorded with a Latin equivalent.

Salomon and Saturn, and a collection of Gnomic verses in the poetry. Light literature is represented by a collection of about eighty riddles in verse.

Freer from foreign influence than any of the preceding, and better shewing the spirit of the native poetry, are the short poems, *The Wanderer*, *The Seafarer*, *The Ruin*, *Deor's Lament*, *The Wife's Lament*, and the fragment *The Fight at Finnesburg*.

A literature that contains so much as is given in the above lists (which do not profess to be exhaustive) may, taking all the circumstances into account, fairly claim to be spoken of as considerable, and may be expected to afford material from which a knowledge of the language, in which it is written, can be gained.

Kentish, Mercian, and Northumbrian specimens.

14. It must be remembered, however, that this language was not the form of speech everywhere current in England. It is the language of Wessex that they represent. In other parts of the country different forms were to be found, and of them specimens, though comparatively scanty ones, have been preserved. For instance, there are specimens of a Kentish dialect in some charters, and in some glosses on the book of Proverbs; the dialect of Mercia is seen in interlinear glosses of the Psalms and of some hymns; in the dialect of the North are written interlinear glosses of the Gospels and of the Durham Ritual, a few verses of Bede, and some Runic inscriptions. There are some other works which do not belong to Wessex, but those mentioned may be enough to suggest the existence of dialects and the comparative extent of the specimens belonging to them.

The retention of the Old English vocabulary in that of Modern English—

15. In the preceding paragraphs an attempt has been made to give some idea of the extent of the Old English specimens; the importance to Modern English of the material they contain may be appreciated, if it be noticed how great an amount of that material still forms part of the vocabulary.

illustration from the works of Alfred and Ælfric.

The point may be illustrated by reference to the passages from Alfred's translation of Boethius and from Ælfric's preface to Genesis, which are quoted in this chapter. In them, words no longer in use are italicised, and it will be seen at a glance that such words are in a minority. Moreover in the case of several even of these, though no modern forms can be directly traced to them, yet the material they contain is still living. This may be seen in the following instances[1]:

Alfred's version	*Modern English*
an-*weald*	cf. to *wield* (O. E. wealdan)
rice	bishop-*ric*
and-*weorc*	*work*
be-*boden* (pp.)	to *bid*
be-*fæst* (pp.)	*fast* (adj.)
ge-*bed-men*	*beads-men*
for-*ealdod* (pp.)	*old*
dysig (noun)	*dizzy* (adj.)
*hra*ðost (spve.)	*rath*er (cpve.)
*weor*þ-fullice	*worth*-y
Ælfric	
under-*beginnan*	to *begin*
on-*dræde*	to *dread*
heah-fæder	*high, father*
to-*dal*	*dole*
lar-eowas	*lore*
and-*git*	cf. to *get*
*menn*iscnys	*man*
ge-*filled*-nys	*filled*
foran-to	be-*fore*
an-feald	*one, fold*

The passages fairly represent Old English in respect to the point under consideration, so it may be seen that much of the material used by Alfred and Ælfric is, of course with more or less modification, used by Englishmen to-day.

[1] Only the root parts of the words are noted, but the prefixes and suffixes would equally illustrate the point.

16. But the Old English appeals to later times not only because so large a proportion of it is preserved by them, but also because so much of the work done by the language is done by the Old English element in it. A few figures quoted from the *Student's English Language* will illustrate the second point[1]. In the vocabulary of the English Bible sixty per cent. of the words are native; in that of Shakspere the proportion is very nearly the same; while of the stock of words employed in the poetical works of Milton, less than thirty-three per cent. are Anglo-Saxon. But when we examine the proportions in which authors actually employ the words at their command, we find that, even in those whose total vocabulary embraces the greatest number of Latin and other foreign vocables, the Anglo-Saxon still largely predominates. Thus:

The employment of the Old English element by later writers illustrated.

Piers Ploughman, *Introduction*, contains 88 per cent. of Anglo-Saxon words.

Chaucer, *Prologue to Canterbury Tales*, first 420 verses 88 per cent. of Anglo-Saxon words.

Chaucer, *Nonne Preestes Tale* 93 per cent. of Anglo-Saxon words.

Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, bk. ii. Canto vii. 86 per cent. of Anglo-Saxon words.

S. John's Gospel, A.V., chaps. I., IV., XVII. 96 per cent. of Anglo-Saxon words.

Shakspere, *Henry IV.*, Part I., Act ii. 91 per cent. of Anglo-Saxon words.

Milton, *L'Allegro*, 90 per cent. of Anglo-Saxon words.

Addison, several numbers of *Spectator*, 82 per cent. of Anglo-Saxon words.

Pope, *First Epistle*, and *Essay on Man* 80 per cent. of Anglo-Saxon words.

Swift, *John Bull*, several chapters 85 per cent. of Anglo-Saxon words.

Johnson, *Preface* to *Dictionary*, 72 per cent. of Anglo-Saxon words.

Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, vol. I. chap. vii. 70 per cent. of Anglo-Saxon words.

[1] *The Student's English Language*, by George P. Marsh, pp. 91–3. For a much fuller list, and for a discussion of the points illustrated by the figures, reference can be made to the lecture from which the quotation is made.

Macaulay, *Essay on Lord Bacon*, 75 per cent. of Anglo-Saxon words.
Mrs Browning, *Cry of the Children*, 92 per cent. of Anglo-Saxon words.
Robert Browning, *Bishop Blougram's Apology*, 84 per cent. of Anglo-Saxon words.
Tennyson, *The Lotus Eaters*, 87 per cent. of Anglo-Saxon words.
Tennyson, *In Memoriam*, first twenty poems 89 per cent. of Anglo-Saxon words.
Ruskin, *Elements of Drawing*, first six exercises 84 per cent. of Anglo-Saxon words.

These figures may shew that, looking only to the vocabulary, the Old English element is of the highest importance to the modern speech, that, as Dr Morris says, 'in the works of our greatest writers the English element greatly preponderates'; while if the grammatical forms be also taken into account it will be found that the Old English element is absolutely indispensable, that, to quote the same writer, 'if we endeavour to speak or write without making use of the native element (grammar or vocabulary), we shall find that such a thing is impossible.' The grammatical forms of modern English, indeed, are all of them native, and it is of the older forms from which they are derived, that a brief notice must now be given to complete our survey of the earliest stage of the language.

CHAPTER X.

The Early West-Saxon vowel system and the development it shews—the common Teutonic vowel system—changes in the consonant structure of words which have already taken place in the oldest English—doubling of consonants—loss of consonants—early writing—use of the Latin alphabet—use of Runes—grammatical forms common to many languages—the noun and its inflections in modern English—inferences that may be drawn from them—scheme of Old English declensions—*weak* and *strong* declensions—early loss and confusion of grammatical forms—continuousness of change—later history of change—different conditions of Northern and Southern English—prepositions instead of case-endings—declension of the adjective—its case-endings preserved by the pronouns—comparison—the conjugation of the verb—*strong* verbs—scheme of these in Old English—reduplication in verbs—*weak* verbs—scheme of these in Old English—traces of an earlier scheme—evidence from Gothic—*preterite-present* verbs—verbs in *-mi*—presents with infixed *n*—mood—person—changes in conjugation since the Old English period—*Anglo-Saxon* and *English*.

1. In attempting to trace the history of the language down to the middle of the 11th century it has so far been mostly to the vocabulary that attention has been directed, to the introduction of foreign, and the loss of native words, or to the extended use of the latter; it has been to the modifications in the extent and force, rather than to such as affect the form, of the language-material that reference has been made. About these latter a few words may now be said.

2. In Chap. II. the possibility of inferring for an English word an earlier form than is to be found in any English MS. was illustrated. We may, then, work back to earlier forms than those used by Alfred, even though his be the earliest written ones we have. Now the vowel system of the Early West-Saxon works, e.g. the *Pastoral Care*, may be represented by the following symbols:

The Early West-Saxon vowel system and the development which it shews.

Short		*Long*	
a	mann	ā	stān (*stone*)
æ	æt (*at*)	ǣ	lǣdan (*lead*)
ę	menn	ē	fēdan (*feed*)
e	etan (*to eat*)	ī	mīn (*mine*)
i	in	īe	hīeran (*to hear*)
ie	ieldra (*elder*)	ō	mōna (*moon*)
o	gold	ū	ūt (*out*)
ǫ	on	ȳ	brȳd (*bride*)
u	sunu (*son*)	ēa	ēage (*eye*)
y	cynn (*kin*)	ēo	dēop (*deep*)
ea	earm (*arm*)		
eo	eorþe (*earth*)		
io	mioluc (*milk*)		

To trace in detail the development which is involved in this scheme would be out of place here, but its character may be suggested by considering a particular case. If the words *mann, æt, net, ǫn, earm, ieldra, ōþer, sēfte, sōfte, gōs, gēs* be compared with corresponding forms in other Teutonic languages, it will appear that all originally had the same vowel, *a*. Thus

English	*Gothic*	*English*	*Gothic*
mann	manna	ieldra	alþiza
æt	at	ōþer	anþar
net	nati	sēfte (adj.)	semfti } O.H. Ger.
ǫn	ana	sōfte (adv.)	samfto } O.H. Ger.
earm	arms	gōs; gēs; pl.	gans; gensi; pl., O.H.Ger.

And the comparison will further suggest the conditions under which change has taken place. Thus in *net, ieldra, sēfte, gēs,*

the root-vowel has been influenced by the *i* (or *j*) of the following syllable; in *ǫn* the nasal has affected the vowel, in *earm* it is the *r*-combination; in *ōþer*, *sōfte*, *gōs*, a nasal has disappeared before *þ*, *f*, *s* respectively, and the vowel has been lengthened in compensation; in *ieldra*, *sēfte*, *gēs*, moreover, it may be noted that the change is the result of more than one influence.

The common Teutonic vowel system.

3. This instance, as was said, may suggest the kind of development, which has resulted in the Old English[1] vowel system given above; and may point to the possibility, thanks to the inferences that may be drawn after comparison of parallel forms in English and other Teutonic speeches, of constructing a simpler vowel system out of which have grown the several systems of all those speeches. The system so constructed would be approximately this:

short	a, e, i, o, u
long	ā, ǣ, ē, ī, ō, ū[2]
diphthongs	ai, au, iu, eo.

Changes in the consonant structure of words which have already taken place in the oldest English. Doubling of consonants.

4. With regard to the consonant framework of words also there is a history of change to be inferred; and here, as in the case of the vowels, a few instances to suggest a condition which is too complicated to describe in detail may be given. For example, the occurrence of doubled consonants is not uncommon in Old English, e.g. *hebban* to heave, *webb* web, *secgan* (*cg*=*gg*) to say, *scieppan* to shape, *tellan* to tell. Now alongside these may be placed forms, evidently containing the same root, in which the consonants are single, *hōfon*, they heaved, *wefan*, to weave, *sagu*, a saw, saying, *sceapen*, shaped, *talu*, a tale. As

[1] It is the system of the representative Old English dialect only that is given. The other dialects shew somewhat different developments; these, however, need not be considered here.

[2] The sounds of these vowels are approximately those in *father*, *fare*, *fate*, *feet*, *foe*, *food* respectively.

has been said above, the vowel in some of these simpler forms might suggest the influence that has brought about the doubling in the fuller, for *a* when followed by *i* or *j* in the next syllable becomes *e*. And the suggestion finds confirmation from the Gothic, in which the forms corresponding to *hebban* and *scieppan* are *hafjan* and *skapjan*. It will be noticed, however, that in the instances given above the root vowel is short; where the vowel was long the doubling did not take place. Thus though *dēman*, to deem, on comparison with *dōm*, doom, suggests by its vowel the influence of the suffix, which may be seen in the Gothic *dōmjan*, and in this respect resembles *hebban*, &c., yet the *m* remains single, as in the noun with which it is connected. We have thus traced back the history of our forms *heave*, *deem*, &c., beyond the point to which our earliest MSS. will take us.

Loss of consonants.

5. Again, there is nothing in English to suggest that the consonant structure of any of the words *other*, *lithe*, *mouth* has suffered loss; the oldest forms, *ōþer*, *līþe*, *mūþ*, are practically the same as the modern; but on comparing respectively with Goth. *anþar*, or Ger. *ander*, with Ger. *lind*, with Goth. *munþs*, or Ger. *mund* it is evident that even the oldest English forms are but modifications of yet earlier, which all contained *n*. In like manner the history of *five* and *soft* may be carried back beyond the Old English *fīf* and *sōfte* (adv.) by a comparison with Goth. *fimf*, or Ger. *fünf*, and with Ger. *sanft* (O. H. Ger. *samfto*) respectively. The same tendency to reject a nasal is also seen in *housel* (O.E. *hūsel*, the eucharist) and in *goose* (O.E. *gōs*), which correspond to Goth. *hunsl* and Ger. *gans* respectively.

Out of common Teutonic material, by changes such as those slightly indicated in the preceding paragraphs, was shaped that form of speech which we find in the oldest English specimens; and the instances just given, taken in connection with what has been said in Chap. II., may suggest the history

that lies behind the oldest English forms we know from English MSS.

Early writing. Use of the Latin alphabet, of Runes.

6. It is to the spoken forms of words that reference has been made; but of the written forms also it may be said, that for them there is a history before the times of the earliest MSS. In these MSS. a form of the Latin alphabet, shewing marks of Irish modifications, was used; but before this was adopted under Christian influence, the English, like other Teutonic peoples, had been acquainted with letters[1]. Concerning the origin of Runes there has been much discussion, but the most probable supposition seems to be that which connects them with the Latin forms. The Runic alphabets differ from one another both in the number and in the shape of their characters, but only as the developments of a common original might do. In England after the acceptance of Christianity the native alphabet was not generally used, but it was not entirely given up; and even a Christian poem, such as the inscription on the Ruthwell Cross, could be written with Runes. Some of its symbols, too, were for special reasons retained after it had yielded to the Latin; the Runes for *m* and *d*, whose names were *man* and *day* respectively, were used sometimes (e.g. in the Durham Ritual) instead of writing those words; and the sounds *th* and *w*, for which the Latin alphabet did not furnish convenient symbols, were represented by the Runes þ[2] and ƿ. That the Runes survived, though they were not

[1] Native words denoting *letters* were *rūne*, *rūn-stafas*, *bōc-stafas* (cf. Ger. *buch-stabe*). The material found in the first two expresses also the ideas of *whispering*, *secrecy*, *counsel*, e.g. O.E. *rūnian*, later English *roun*, Ger. *raunen* to whisper, O.E. *ge-rȳne* mystery, Gothic *rūna* mystery, counsel, *ga-rūni* counsel. It may be noted also that *write* is a native word, with the original meaning *to cut*; taken along with the *stafas* (staves) of the compounds given above, it indicates what were the methods of the early time in the matter of writing.

[2] The Runic alphabet can hardly be said to have completely died out so long as *the* can be written *y*ᵉ, for the first symbol here is an imperfect representation of the Rune þ.

generally used, may be seen, too, from an Old English poem, in which each stanza is accompanied by a Runic letter and deals with the thing which is denoted by the name of the letter[1]. From this poem and from other instances of the Runic alphabet it will be seen that the order of the letters was quite different from that of the Latin; the first six are *f*, *u*, *th*, *o*, *r*, *c*; the word they form is now sometimes used as the name of the collection of symbols at whose head they stand.

Grammatical forms common to many languages.

7. The same general point that has been noted in regard both to the native English vocabulary and to the native alphabet, viz. that each is an instance of one among many similar developments of a single original, may be noted also in regard to the native grammatical forms. These, as they are found in the oldest English specimens, are indeed full, as compared with those of modern times; but even they are only fragments of a yet earlier system, whose condition may be learnt by a method similar to that which shews what has been the earlier form of the vocabulary. Comparison of the declensions and conjugations used in the related languages will shew the earlier system to which each later one may be traced back. The subject is far too wide to be adequately treated here; but, as in other cases, something may be attempted by way of suggesting the history which belongs to the grammatical forms that emerge in the oldest English. And as a preliminary to this attempt attention may be directed to the modern grammatical forms,

[1] The names of the Runic letters, like those of the Hebrew, were significant words. Thus the name of the first letter, *f*, was *feoh* = pecunia; so the first verse of the poem is:

Feoh byð frofur fira gehwylcum
sceal þeah manna gehwylc miclum hit dælan
gif he wile for drihtne domes hleotan.

Money is a comfort for every man
yet every man must give it liberally
if he will in the sight of the Lord gain glory.

with the view of shewing that by a process like that which must be employed in the case of the oldest, the history of the period which lies between the two stages may, at any rate in part, be written. The examination will further serve to shew the significance, in regard to the history of our grammatical forms, of some common English words.

The noun and its inflections in modern English.

8. To begin with the noun. A slight consideration of the modern English will bring out a state of things which appears somewhat irregular, and which if there were neither records of earlier forms of the language, nor other languages with which to compare it, might be difficult to explain. Thus, in the declension of the great majority of nouns two cases only can be distinguished, nominative and genitive, the latter having an inflection (*e*)*s*; and the plural nominative is distinguished from the singular by an inflection of the same form, (*e*)*s*. But some few nouns, and those native ones, do not conform to these rules. Among plurals there are *men*, *feet*, *mice*, where there is only an internal change; *oxen*, *children*, *brethren* as well as *brothers*, where a quite different inflection is used; *sheep*, *deer*, *swine*, where singular and plural are alike. The genitive, too, in certain words seems exceptional. For instance, in the names of the days of the week while in the first component of *Tues*-day, *Wednes*-day, *Thurs*-day the ordinary genitive *-s* is found, in *Sun*-day, *Mon*-day, *Fri*-day, which are formed in exactly the same way, the first two, moreover, formed with words, which when used alone take the usual inflection (*sun's*, *mcon's*), the *s* does not appear. And the same discrepancy may be noticed on comparing *Lord's* day with *Lady*-day. Words, too, which may be claimed as current English, though not quite in the same sense as are those already given, might supply further illustration. So as examples of the *n*-plurals might be noted *kine*, which, though in comparison with *cows* it is felt to be archaic, is yet familiar from its use in the Bible; *een* used in some dialects, that are not unrepresented in literature,

instead of *eyes*; and *housen*, which is also a dialect form, though with less pretence than *een* to be a literary word. Now the occurrence of these and the other *n*-plurals may fairly be taken to suggest, that a declension, of which *oxen* (that shews no other plural form) is a representative, once existed alongside a declension which made its plural in (*e*)*s*; while the occurrence of double forms like *een*, *eyes*, of which the latter is the usual one, suggests that the present meagre condition of such a declension is due to the fact that nouns once belonging to it passed over to its rival. These suppositions find confirmation on turning to a related speech, German, where *n*-plurals are found in abundance. Moreover from a comparison of English and German forms it may be inferred, that in the former the termination (*e*)*n* has not unfrequently disappeared, e.g. though all German infinitives have the inflection *en*, no English verb has it. This particular case of loss, then, may suggest an explanation of the apparently anomalous genitives, given above, in *Sun*-day, *Mon*-day; viz. that just as the English verb *mean* is the equivalent of Ger. *mein-en*, so the *mon* of *Mon*-day may be the shortening of a genitive which once had a suffix of the same form as the verb had. And the supposition is confirmed by comparison with German, which still has *en* as a genitive suffix for many nouns.

Inferences that may be drawn from modern words.

9. From an examination of modern forms, then, it might be possible to establish thus much for the earlier grammar, that it had two distinct types of declension, one in which *s*-suffixes were used in the genitive singular and in the nominative plural, the other which had *n*-suffixes in those cases. Further details might be similarly worked out, if other apparently anomalous forms, *Fri*-day, *sheep*, *feet*, *children*, were considered; but it is not necessary to illustrate the point further. The significance in a rather different direction of one other word, however, may be noted. Modern English seems to know no other case-ending than that of the genitive; but the existence of *whilome*

[=at (former) times] alongside *while* suggests a dative suffix for the plural; and again German, with dative plurals in *n*, would confirm the suggestion.

Scheme of Old English declensions.

10. If, now, instead of taking the modern we were to take the oldest English grammatical forms we should still have for consideration the case of a system which is but a remnant of a fuller one. In the case of the modern an attempt has been made to shew that by means of modern forms alone it might be possible to reconstruct in part a fuller system, of which they are but fragments; by dealing with the oldest forms in the same way it should be equally possible to reconstruct a system of which they in their turn are but imperfect representatives. In order that we may have material for illustrating the history of our grammatical forms, both before and after the point which is marked by the oldest English, the following declensions are here given:

A. 1. fisc; *m. fish*: col; *n. coal*: word; *n. word*: cearu; *f. care*: wund; *f. wound*.

Sing.	N.	fisc	col	word	cearu	wund
	G.	fisces	coles	wordes	ceare	wunde
	D.	fisce	cole	worde	ceare	wunde
	A.	fisc	col	word	ceare	wunde
Plur.	N.	fiscas	colu	word	ceara (-e)	wunda (-e)
	G.	fisca	cola	worda	ceara	wunda
	D.	fiscum	colum	wordum	cearum	wundum
	A.	fiscas	colu	word	ceara (-e)	wunda (-e)

1 *a*. ende; *m. end*: cynn; *n. kin*: rīce; *n. power*: hell; *f. hell*: wylf; *f. she-wolf*.

Sing.	N.	ende	cyn[n]	rīce	hel[l]	wylf
	G.	endes	cynnes	rīces	helle	wylfe
	D.	ende	cynne	rīce	helle	wylfe
	A.	ende	cyn[n]	rīce	helle	wylfe
Plur.	N.	endas	cyn[n]	rīcu	hella (-e)	wylfa (e)-
	G.	enda	cynna	rīca	hella	wylfa
	D.	endum	cynnum	rīcum	hellum	wylfum
	A.	endas	cyn[n]	rīca	hella (-e)	wylfa (-e)

1 *b.* bearu; *m. barrow, grove*: melu; *n. meal*: sceadu; *f. shadow*: mæd; *mead, meadow.*

Sing.	N.	bearu	melu	sceadu	mæd
	G.	bearwes	melwes	sceadwe	mædwe
	D.	bearwe	melwe	sceadwe	mædwe
	A.	bearu	melu	sceadwe	mædwe
Plur.	N.	bearwas	melu	sceadwa (-e)	mædwa (-e)
	G.	bearwa	melwa	sceadwa	mædwa
	D.	bearwum	melwum	sceadwum	mædwum
	A.	bearwas	melu	sceadwa (-e)	mædwa (-e)

2. wine; *m. friend*: wyrm; *m. worm*: Englė; *pl. Angles*: sife; *n. sieve*: benc; *f. bench.*

Sing.	N.	wine	wyrm		sife	benc
	G.	wines	wyrmes		sifes	bence
	D.	wine	wyrme		sife	bence
	A.	wine	wyrm		sife	benc
Plur.	N.	wine, *and* -as	wyrmas	Engle	sifu (-a)	bence, *and* -a
	G.	wina	wyrma	Engla	sifa	benca
	D.	winum	wyrmum	Englum	sifum	bencum
	A.	wine, *and* -as	wyrmas	Engle	sifu (-a)	bence, *and* -a

3. sunu; *m. son*: feld; *m. field*: duru; *f. door*: hand; *f. hand.*

Sing.	N.	sunu	feld	duru	hand
	G.	suna	felda, *and* -es	dura	handa
	D.	suna, -u	felda, *and* -e	dura, -u	handa
	A.	sunu	feld	duru	hand
Plur.	N.	suna	felda, *and* -as	dura, -u	handa
	G.	suna	felda	dura	handa
	D.	sunum	feldum	durum	handum
	A.	[illegible]	felda, *and* -as	dura, -u	handa

B. 1. guma; *m. man*: tunge; *f. tongue*: ēage; *n. eye*: 1 *a.* lengu (-o); *f. length.*

Sing.	N.	guma	tunge	ēage	lengu (-o)
	G.	guman	tungan	ēagan	lengu (-o), *and* -e
	D.	guman	tungan	ēagan	lengu (-o), *and* -e
	A.	guman	tungan	ēage	lengu (-o), *and* -e
Plur.	N.	guman	tungaṅ	ēagan	lenge (-a)
	G.	gumena	tungena	ēagena	lenga
	D.	gumum	tungum	ēagum	lengum
	A.	guman	tungan	ēagan	lenge (-a)

C. fōt; *m. foot*: hnutu; *f. nut*: bōc; *f. book*: brōþer; *m. brother*: frēond; *m. friend*: cild; *n. child.*

Sing.	N.	fōt	hnutu	bōc	
	G.	fōtes	hnute	bēc, *and* bōce	
	D.	fēt	hnyte	bēc	
	A.	fōt	hnutu	bōc	
Plur.	N.	fēt	hnyte	bēc	
	G.	fōta	hnuta	bōca	
	D.	fōtum	hnutum	bōcum	
	A.	fēt	hnyte	bēc	
Sing.	N.	brōþor	frēond	cild	
	G.	brōþor	frēondes	cildes	
	D.	brēþer	frīend, frēonde	cilde	
	A.	brōþor	frēond	cild	
Plur.	N.	brōþor, brōþru	frīend, frēondas	cildru, cild	
	G.	brōþra	frēonda	cildra	
	D.	brōþrum	frēondum	cildum	
	A.	brōþor, brōþru	frīend, frēondas	cildru, cild	

Some points in the earlier history of the old English grammatical forms. The weak declension.

11. We may now try to work out the earlier history of one or two of these oldest English forms. Take, for instance, the declension of *guma* (B 1); it shews no inflection in the singular which can compare with those of *fisc* (A 1); there is nothing but an unchanging *an*-termination. The plural, too, in nom. and acc. shews the same ending; the genitive, however, has an addition to the *n*-form, *gumen-a*, which is like that of the same case in the declension, of *fisc—fisc-a*. This might suggest that in earlier times other cases may have used the same endings in both declensions. If, now, we turn to a cognate speech, Gothic, and compare the inflections of the same two words, we shall find their gen. pls. related as in English—*guman-ē*, *fisk-ē*; but in Gothic it is not the gen. pl. only that suggests comparison, for the gen. sing. is *gumin-s*, the nom. acc. pl. *guman-s*, while the same three cases of *fisk* all shew an *s*-inflection. By the help of Gothic we are certainly carried back a step in the life of the oldest English declension. And if older forms than the Gothic be compared

the work of reconstruction may be carried yet further. The Latin forms of *guma* and *fisc* are *homo* and *piscis*, whose gen. pls., *homin-um*, *pisci-um*, shew the same agreement in the inflection as do Gothic *guman-ē*, *fisk-ē*; but in Latin it is not only in this case that the inflections seem the same for the two words, for the gen. sing. is *homin-is*, *pisc-is*, the nom. acc. pl. *homin-es*, *pisc-es* respectively. And this may shew that in gen. sing. *gumin-s* and *fisk-is*, we have, quite as much as in gen. pl. *guman-ē* and *fisk-ē*, the same inflection in each word; and the same may be said of the nom. and acc. pl. Further, though Gothic in the dat. and acc. sing. *gumin*, *guman* is without inflection, while *fisk-a* and *fisk* are corresponding cases, Latin *homin-i*, *pisc-i*, *homin-em*, *pisc-em* will suggest that in these cases also the inflections were once the same for both words. Passing then from the Latin through the Gothic we get the history of the Old English declension. With one exception, the gen. pl., its proper inflections have been gradually worn off, and it has been reduced to the stem form to which those inflections were attached. The declension of these *n*-stem nouns is commonly called the weak declension.

The strong declensions.

12. We may turn now to the more complex case of the nouns given under A, and try to recognize indications of the system which they represent. In speaking of the development of the vowel system the modifications produced in one sound by another that follows it have been noticed. Thus original *a* followed by *i* or *j* becomes *e*; *u* under the same influence becomes *y*, but followed by *a* becomes *o*. If, then, we find in nouns these modifications, even though the modifying cause is no longer present, we have a suggestion that as well as consonant stems (e.g. *guman-*) we have vowel stems. Moreover in certain words a vowel is left to shew the character of the formation: e.g. *sun-u*, *win-e* (earlier *-i*) may suggest *u-* and *i-* stem nouns respectively. Again, in speaking of the consonants it was noted that after a short vowel a consonant followed by *j* was doubled

and the *j* disappeared. If, then, a noun occurs with a changed short vowel and a doubled consonant there is a suggestion of a *j(a)*-stem. The same stem-ending, too, after a long root syllable should be left as *e*. Applying these remarks to the interpretation of some part of the scheme given under A we may note that the *o* in *col* and *word* points to the *a*-stem; while the *ÿ* and doubled *n* of *cynn* point to the *ja*-stem. To the same stem point the root *e* and final *e* of *end-e*, and the final *e* of *rīc-e*. To the *i*-stem belongs *wĭn-e*; and the *y* of *wyrm*, which though a long syllable, has no final *e*, as *end-e* has, points to a stem in *i*. *Sun-u* still shews the stem vowel. If, now, as before, we compare English with related speeches, we shall find the suggestions confirmed. Thus the oldest Scandinavian form of the Old English *eorl* is *eril-a-r*, shewing the *a* of the stem; while *gast-i-r*, Old English *giest* (guest) equally shews the *i* of the stem; and Gothic shews three forms of dative plural, *fisk-am*, *gast-im*, *sun-um*. The latter speech, too, will illustrate the *ja*-stem in its declension of *kun-i* (O.E. *cynn*), which makes its gen. *kun-jis*, dat. pl. *kun-jam*. These few instances[1] may serve to shew that the Old English forms suggest what their earlier history has been, and that by help from other speeches the suggestions may be tested and supplemented, so that their history may be written.

Early loss and confusion.

13. One or two other points, that in view of the later history of our declensions are of interest, may be mentioned. In connection with the later rejection of inflections it may be noted, that both Gothic and Icelandic in many of their nouns shew a termination for the

[1] It is only the two main groups of declensions that have been touched on; the smaller declensions, collected together in C, might be treated in the same way; but in regard to their significance in the history of our inflections it must be enough in their case to point out, that, with the exception of the *frēond* form (in which the interest attaches rather to the *-nd* suffix than to the case-endings), they are all more or less preserved in modern English.

nominative, e.g. Goth. *fisk-s*, Icel. *fisk-r* (cf. Lat. *piscis*); but no English noun shews such a termination. Again, in connection with the later confusion of declensions it may be noted how an *i*-stem noun, *met-e*, is treated in the plural as if it belonged to the *a*-stem declension, and makes its plural *mettas*; and the two plural forms of *win-e*, *wine* and *winas*, shew the early tendency to assimilation which has resulted in our modern (*e*)*s*. The same is seen in the *u* stem noun *feld*, and in the *-nd* stem *frēond*. As explaining anomalous plurals like *sheep*, *deer*, it may be noted that the short syllable *col* makes its pl. *colu*, but the long syllable, *word*, has pl. and sing. alike. A reference to Gothic, where a termination *a* (*waurd-a*) is used whether the syllable be long or short, shews that this is a rule that English had developed from the simpler stage marked by Gothic. To these instances drawn, with one exception, from the A group may be added one taken from the B group, that furnished by nouns like *lengu*(*-o*). The *e* suggests the early presence of an *i*-suffix, and a reference to Gothic, in which the form is *lagg-ei* (*ei* = *ī*), confirms the suggestion. The true character of the declension may also be learnt from that language, which shews the genitive in *-eins*, dat. acc. in *-ein*. It is, then, a consonant-stem declension, but in Old English it has already lost all its distinctive forms. Moreover, thanks to the change of its final vowel, the words belonging to it were readily confused with those of the feminines in the A group, and often passed over to their declension.

14. What has been said will be enough to bring out two points in the early history of our declensions; that inflections were lost, with the result that different cases were no longer distinguished, e.g. the singular of *guma* was reduced to two forms *guma*, *guman*; and that there was a tendency to assimilate the inflections of the various declensions to those of a particular declension, e.g. the plurals *winas*, *frēondas*, assimilated to *fiscas*, take the place of *wine*, *frīend*. Thus both the continuousness of change and its

Continuousness of change.

constancy of direction may be shewn; for it is just these two points that are prominent in the history of the declensions during the period between the oldest and modern English.

Later history of change, different conditions of Northern and Southern English.

15. It is naturally in the language of that part of England which was most troubled by the Danes that change may first be marked. The point may be illustrated by the following short comparisons of the West Saxon and Northumbrian renderings of the same material:

West-Saxon.	*Northumbrian.*
Þines lichama*n* leohtfæt is þin eage	læhtfæt lichomæ*s* is ego lucerna corporis est oculus.
Dæt mot of þines bro*ðu*r eaga*n*	*ðone* mot of ego bro*þ*re*s* ðines festucam de oculo fratris tui.
sawl*e* forwyrd	saul*es* loswist animae detrimentum.

Here it will be noticed that in Northumbrian a noun of the weak declension, *lichama*, makes its genitive in *s*, while another, *eage*, has dropped the *n* of the dative, thus going far towards the obliteration of the declension. In the case of another declension, that of *brodur*, the same assimilating influence is at work, and the *es* suffix for the genitive is introduced here also. Among nouns, too, of the A group the suffix of masculine or neuter nouns is substituted for that of the feminine, and for sawl*e* is written saul*es*. Neglect of gender may also be seen in the use of a masculine adjective *done* with a neuter noun, *mot*.

After the Norman Conquest the grammar of Southern English in its turn suffered, but it was long before it overtook that of the North in the course of simplification. Thus in the Middle English dialects the two are still contrasted:

Southern.	*Northern.*
A large number of nouns with *-en* plurals.	No plurals in *-en*, except *eghen*, *oxen*, *hosen*, *schoon*.
Genitive plural in *-ene* as late as 1387.	No genitive plural in *-ene*.

Plurals *children, brethren, ken* (*kun*) = cows, *honden* (*honde*).	*Childer, brether, kuy* (*ky*), *hend.*
Genitive of feminine nouns in *-e.*	Genitive of feminine nouns in *-es*[1].

By the North the modern stage was already reached; it had practically carried out the two sweeping changes which were to convert the oldest English declensions into the modern ones; the weak nouns were turned into strong, and of the many subdivisions of the latter one form only was used, that which had the inflexions in *-s* for genitive singular and nominative plural. The same course was afterwards followed by the South, and thus was reached the point of simplification, towards which the system of declension had been moving long before we know it in its oldest English form.

Use of prepositions instead of case-endings.

16. It has been mostly change in respect to types of declension to which attention has been directed, but another point calls for notice. The single type to which nearly all others were conformed was not completely preserved; its case distinctions were lost. This made it necessary to extend a use already known to the language, and to employ much more largely independent words, prepositions, to mark the relations, which it had been the office of case-endings to mark. A similar use in French, which had already suffered the losses that English was to suffer, might help to determine the English practice, so that even where a case-ending remained, the same relation could be expressed by means of a preposition. So influenced by French *de* the genitive relation might be expressed by the use of *of*, as well as by the inflection, though this case did not stand in the same need, as did the dative, of help from a preposition. As a result, then, of changes in its grammatical system, the language has changed its character, and while Old English is synthetic, modern English is analytic.

[1] Morris and Skeat's *Specimens* (Introduction).

The declension of the adjective, its case-endings preserved by the pronouns.

17. The adjective in the matter of declension has a history very similar to that of the noun, and may be treated more briefly. Looking to the Old English forms we shall find that all adjectives, when used with a demonstrative, can shew inflections parallel to those of weak nouns of corresponding gender (v. B 1, *supra*); while a more or less perfect correspondence with the subdivisions according to vowel stems given under A may be traced; e.g. *swēt-e* with $\bar{e} < \bar{o}$, and final *e* may compare with *end-e*, with $e < a$, and final *e*; *cuc-u* (quick) may compare with *sun-u*. The tendency to pass from one declension to another marks the adjective as well as the noun; and the loss of distinctions is seen in the uniformity introduced by the later West-Saxon grammar into the nominative plural, where the single termination *-e* is used in the place of *-e*; masc., *-a*; fem., *-u*; neuter with short roots, or no termination with long roots. In the Middle English dialects the adjective inflections, like those of the noun, are best preserved in the Southern, but in the end the same simplicity prevails everywhere, and the adjective, going beyond the noun in the rejection of terminations, becomes uninflected as regards gender, number and case. The one inflection it retains marks a relation, with which the noun is not concerned, i.e. degree. And here it will be noticed that modern English, though at first sight simple, suggests that simplicity results from a disregard of earlier distinctions. *Elder* by the side of *old*, *first* compared with *former* suggest that the suffix of comparison must once have contained *i*, while other cases in which the vowel of the positive remains unchanged suggest that there must have been a second suffix in which *i* did not occur. That such was the case may be seen from Gothic, where the comparative of *old* is *alþ-iza*, but that of *blind* is *blind-oza*. But though in modern English the adjectives may be able to contribute very little towards a reconstruction of early declensions, yet modern English still preserves nearly all their old inflections.

And this will be seen on comparing the following declensions:

		Masc.	*Fem.*	*Neut.*	*Masc.*	*Fem.*	*Neut.*
Sing.	N.	gōd	gōd	gōd	hē	hēo	hit
	G.	gōdes	gōdre	gōdes	his	hire	his
	D.	gōdum	gōdre	gōdum	him	hire	him
	A.	gōdne	gōde	gōd	hine	hīe	hit
Instrumental		gōde		gōde	þȳ instrumental of demonstrative		
Plur.	N.	gōde	gōda	gōd	þā		
	G.	gōdra	gōdra	gōdra	þāra	plural of demonstrative	
	D.	gōdum	gōdum	gōdum	þām		
	A.	gōde	gōda	gōd	þā		

The inflections of the adjectives and the pronouns were to a great extent the same; hence though the modern adjective has lost its inflections they are still to be found in such pronominal forms as *his*, *her*; *him*, *whom*, *her*; *their*; *them*. Even a case that was going out of general use in the early time, the instrumental, leaves a trace in *the* before comparatives; and a still earlier termination, that already had been lost to the ordinary adjective in the Oldest English, is kept down to modern times in the *t* of *it*, *that* and *what*. This last point may be illustrated by comparing Gothic *allata*, the neuter of *alls*, and *þata*, the neuter of the demonstrative, with the corresponding Old English *eall* and *þæt*. It will be seen, then, that though the adjective itself cannot now suggest even so much of an earlier history as can the noun, yet the declensional system of the earlier time in its case has left no less mark upon the modern speech than has that of the noun.

The conjugation of the verb.

18. Turning now to the verb we shall find, that, as with declensions so with conjugations, the present condition of the language at first sight seems to be one in which there are a few general rules, though to these there may be a few exceptions. The case of the verb is somewhat more complicated than that of the noun; the latter is concerned with but three modifications, the former with four, mood, person, number, tense. However in the first

three of these there is pretty general uniformity; the singular of the subjunctive present is distinguished from that of the indicative by the absence of person-endings, in the plural of the same tenses there is no distinction. In the indicative the present singular shews the person-endings *-st* and *-s* or *-th* in the 2nd and 3rd person respectively, the past has an ending for the 2nd person only, while in the plural both tenses are without person-endings; in the subjunctive both tenses remain unchanged throughout. These practically appear to be general rules. With respect, however, to the fourth modification—tense—it is at once seen that there is not a single rule which expresses the relation between the present and the past. For the majority of verbs, indeed, one rule, with slight variations for special phonetic conditions, might serve, to the effect that the past is formed from the present by the addition of a dental. But there is an important minority of native English verbs, too numerous to be looked upon as mere exceptions to the above rule, in which a totally different method is employed. *Love*; *loved*; p. t.; *loved*; pp.: *drive*; *drove*; p. t.; *driven*; pp., shew the same effect produced by different means; in the latter case the characteristic mark of the conjugation is the series of vowels *ī*, *ō*, *ĭ*, seen in the three parts of the verb; a different note, as it were, is struck to indicate the respective modifications, which in the other case are indicated by the added dental. There are, then, two main groups of which the two verbs given above may be taken as types, the *strong* conjugation represented by *drive*, the *weak* by *love*; and we may turn to notice each separately with the object of recognizing the history of each as it is written on the speech of later or of earlier times.

Strong verbs.

19. Taking first the strong verbs we may almost observe their history in one point being written. Such forms as *driv-en*, *bor-n*, *sung*, double forms like *writt-en* and *writ*, both used in literature, or like *tor-n* and *tore*, where one only is as yet considered correct, will

tell the story of the suffix *-en*, and establish it as a part of all past participles at an earlier time. Again, though now it may seem to be the rule that in the past tense the singular and plural shew the same vowel, I *drove*, we *drove*, &c., yet the commonest of English past tenses may suggest that this rule has not always been in force. *Was*, *were*, thanks perhaps to the circumstance that their real character is obscured by the losses which the strong verb to which they belong has suffered, and notwithstanding that analogy has often led to the use of *you was*, have been able to maintain a distinction between the vowels of the singular and plural. And that this distinction was not peculiar to the verb in question is suggested by other modern verbs which do not conform to general rules. Take for instance the case of *shall*. Here as regards meaning we have a present tense, but as regards form the rule of that tense, which requires a termination for the third person, is not followed; *shall*, according to form, is a past tense. Its past tense is *shoul-d*, which is not formed from *shall*, but from *shoul*; and this is conceivable if *shall*, in its true character of past tense, had, like *was*, a different vowel (*u*) in its plural. Another auxiliary, *can*, is a parallel case. Again, a rather less familiar word, the verb *to wit*, may illustrate the point. *Wist* as the past tense of a present *wot*, whose infinitive is *wit* appears irregular in several respects. But the irregularity of the vowels would be explained away, if here the case is the same as that of *shall*, and *wot*, being really a past tense, has had a different vowel, *i*, in its plural, which appears in *wist*. There are at least suggestions, then, in the modern grammar that not from three parts only of the verb, but from four, has the characteristic vowel series of a strong verb been taken. Thus from *was*, *were*; *shall*, *shoul*; *wot*, *wit* we might infer that to *wrīte*, *wrōte*, *written* must once have belonged a fourth form, that of the past tense plural, *wrĭt*. Further the indifferent use of *sang* and *sung* as the past tense of *sing* would be quite in keeping with an earlier *sang* in the singular, *sung* in the plural. Moreover

was, were will suggest that even the consonant structure of the verb might be affected, and taken along with [for-]*lorn*, the past participle of [for-]*lose*, will shew which parts of the verb were modified.

Scheme of strong verbs in Old English.

20. In the case of the verb, then, as in that of the noun, the modern grammar tells of the fuller system from which it has decayed. The oldest form of the verbal scheme, that is found in English, may be represented by the following instances, and this, too, will point to a yet earlier:

(1) vowel-series a, ō, ō, a:

infin.	*p. sing.*	*p. plur.*	*p. p.*
faran *to fare*	fōr	fōron	faren

(2) vowel-series e, (e)a, u, o:

helpan *to help*	healp	hulpon	holpen

(3) vowel-series e, æ, ǣ, e:

cweþan *to say*	cwæþ	cwǣdon	cweden

(4) vowel-series e, æ, ǣ, o:

beran *to bear*	bær	bǣron	boren

(5) vowel-series ī, ā, i, i:

drīfan *to drive*	drāf	drifon	drifen

(6) vowel-series ēo *or* ū, ēa, u, o:

lēosan *to lose*	lēas	luron	loren
būgan *to bow*	bēag	bugon	bogen

(7) verbs which though shewing a variety of vowels in the infinitive and past participle shew ē or ēo throughout the past tense:

lǣtan *to let*	lēt	lēton	lǣten
healdan *to hold*	hēold	hēoldon	healden

Reduplication in verbs.

21. On examining verbs which are included in this scheme we may, as in the case of the modern verbs noted above, find suggestions of an earlier history. Thus among verbs belonging to class 7 we may see some remarkable forms. *Hātan*, the material of which may be said still to survive in *hight*, has for its past tense *hēht* as well as *hēt*; *lēort* as well as *lēt* is found as the past

tense of *lētan;* and *lēolc* is the past tense of *lācan*, to play. Here we have a suggestion of tense formation differing somewhat from that shewn, e.g. by *drāf*, *drifon*, and one whose characteristic mark may be suggested by a comparison of *hē-ht*, *lēo-lc* with *hātan*, *lācan* respectively. At least it may be noticed that in each of these the initial sound of the root, *h*, *l* respectively, followed by a vowel, precedes the consonant part of each *ht*, *lc* respectively. English by itself could hardly speak decisively; but on turning to Gothic the full form, of which English preserves only scanty traces, may be found. In that dialect *hēht* appears as *hai-hait*, *lēt* as *lai-lōt*, and there are besides many verbs of the same reduplicating type, which for the most part are found in English as verbs which might be placed in class 7. As, then, modern *were* suggests a distinction no longer living, but which may be established on turning to the older grammar, so *hēht*, etc. in the older grammar may suggest a formation no longer recognized, but which may be established by reference to another language. And, moreover, if the comparison be carried beyond the bounds of Teutonic speech, and e.g. the reduplicating verbs in Latin be noted, we shall see, as might be expected, that grammatical forms, as well as vocabulary, are common to the great family.

Weak verbs.

22. We may now try to shew that weak verbs, for whose conjugation there is now a simplicity of rule comparable with that for the declension of nouns, will, like nouns, still suggest a more complex system. Though now *salve* and *love* seem to belong to the same conjugation as *heal* and *fill*, yet that such was not always the case is suggested by the fact, that while the two former shew just the same vowels as the nouns with which they are connected, the two latter shew vowels that have undergone a regular change from those shewn in the connected adjectives *whole* and *full*. And the same kind of change is seen on comparing *tell* with *tale*, *deem* with *doom*, and in many other instances. There is at least a suggestion then, that there were two conjugations,

one in which the material used in building up the verb forms could produce such change as that just noted, the other in which that material was not used; a two-fold division which may find a parallel in such different comparatives as *full-er* from *full*, and *eld-er* from *old*. Moreover *tell*, p. *told*, compared with *well*, p. *welled*, *seek*, p. *sought*, compared with *deem*, p. *deemed* may suggest that of the conjugation in which change of root-vowel takes place there is a subdivision containing verbs that admit such change only in the present.

23. As representatives of the oldest scheme which English offers for the weak verbs the following may be given:

Scheme of weak verbs in Old English.

	infin.	*p. tense*	*p. part.*
(1)	werian *to wear*	werede	wered
	settan *to set*	sette	seted, set[t]
	fremian *to perform*	fremede	fremed
	or fremman	*or* fremde	*or* fremmed
	dēman *to deem*	dēmde	dēmed
	sendan *to send*	sende	sended, send
(2)	tellan *to tell*	tealde	teald
	sēcan *to seek*	sōhte	sōht
(3)	bycgan *to buy*	bohte	boht
(4)	sealfian *to salve*	sealfode	sealfod
(5)	habban *to have*	hæfde	hæfd
	libban *to live*	lifde	lifd
	and lifian	*and* lifode	

A glance at this scheme will shew how far its leading features are preserved in the modern speech; and we may now try to find in it suggestions for its earlier history.

24. In the case of all the infinitives in (1), (2), (3) it will be noticed that the vowels in the root-parts may have undergone the change, which the form of the termination in the case of *werian* might lead us to expect; it is the change already noted in the *ja*-stem nouns. Among those nouns it was also noticed that when the root-syllable was short, the final consonant was doubled, and to

Traces of an earlier scheme.

this a parallel is found in *sett-an*, *tell-an*, *bycg-an*. The suggestion seems to be, then, that all these infinitives must have had the termination which *wer-ian* alone clearly keeps. Further, as in the past tense of the verbs in (1) the changed vowel is everywhere present in the root, the *e* in *wer*-e-*de*, which represents the vowel producing the change, at an earlier time may have occurred in all; and it may even have been present in the verbs of (2), if we suppose that it was lost before the period when the change was effected. Thus we might suppose a conjugation which has an infinitive in *-ian*, and in the past tense connects the root with a dental suffix by the vowel *e* (earlier *i*), as the form which has developed into the varieties of (1) and (2) in Old English. Now in Gothic, where the change of vowels and the doubling of consonants had not been worked out as in English, we may find the case thus supposed actually existing. Verbs corresponding (or similar) to the English ones given above appear in that language in the following forms:

Evidence from Gothic of an earlier scheme—three conjugations of weak verbs.

	infin.	*p. tense*	*p. part.*
(1)	wasjan	wasida	wasiþs
	satjan	satida	satiþs
	tamjan	tamida	tamiþs
	dōmjan	dōmida	dōmiþs
	sandjan	sandida	sandiþs
(2)	saljan	salida	saliþs
	sōkjan	sōkida	sōkiþs.

Again, it will be noticed that though verbs which belong to (4) have a suffix of the same form as *werian* has, yet an earlier difference is suggested by the fact, that *sealfian* shews no change in its root vowel, while *werian* has changed *a* to *e*. The formation of the past tense, too, supports the suggestion, *o* being used in the one, *e* in the other. Gothic will make the point clear by its verb *salbōn*, p. *salbōda*, and will establish the earlier form of this second conjugation of weak verbs. But

the scheme thus constructed for two conjugations offers no place in it for the verbs in (5), which in some respects seem to shew a mixture of characteristic marks from each. Thus, in respect both to the doubled consonant of the infinitive and to the form of the past tense *habban* resembles *tellan*, while in the unchanged *a* of the infinitive it resembles *sealfian*. *Libban*, too, in the double character of its forms might suggest that with the verbs a change, similar to that already noted in speaking of the old declensions, had taken place, and verbs might have passed from one conjugation to another. Now turning to Gothic such a third conjugation is found for these two verbs: viz. *haban*, p. *habaida: liban*, p. *libaida*. We may see, then, that in an earlier time than that of Oldest English the weak verbs were distributed among three conjugations, which may be distinguished by the connecting vowels used in forming the past tense, as for instance in the Gothic *was*-i-*da*, *salb*-ō-*da*, *hab*-ai-*da*[1]. Such distinctions may find a parallel in the infinitives of Latin verbs.

Preterite-present verbs.

25. To one or other of the two classes, strong and weak, almost every English verb may be assigned. But there are a few remarkable instances of verbs, and among them some of the most frequently used in the language, which belong partly to one, partly to the other class. Thus *can*, *may*, *shall* distinguish themselves from the ordinary verb by shewing no inflection in the 3rd person of what in meaning is a present tense: they shew in fact the form of a past tense of the strong type; while in their past tenses they adopt the method of formation among weak verbs, that of adding a dental. *Dare*, too, is peculiar; it has a double conjugation, in the 3rd person pres. *dare* or *dares*, in the past tense *durst* or *dared*. Its true character, which would

[1] The verb *to buy*, given above under (3), has a form for its p. tense in Gothic (*bauhta*), which places it outside the main groups of weak verbs even in that speech. Here it is enough to speak of those main groups, so no more than a mere reference to the form is made.

class it with *can*, has been misunderstood, and it has been forced into the weak conjugation. *Must* has suffered even more than *dare*, for its present tense *mote* (still to be heard in the formula of the Freemasons) is practically obsolete, and it, though doubly a past tense, can do the work of a present. *Ought*, again, is the past tense of *owe*, but it has been deprived of its true present, which, like *may*, was an old past; like *must* it can now be used as a present, and *owe*, like *dare*, joins the ranks of weak verbs. The Old English forms will confirm the suggestions offered by the modern, as e.g. when *can*, *shall*, *dare* shew *u* instead of *a* in the plural; and a comparison with other languages may throw further light upon such apparently exceptional forms. E.g. the Gothic form of (*I*) *will* seems to shew that this apparently present indicative is the past of the optative. To these instances, all of them words in constant use, may be added the practically obsolete *wit*, *wot*, *wist*. It occurs in the Authorized Version, but it is treated even there as *dare* is now treated, and its true past form for the 3rd person, *wot*, gives way to *wotteth*[1], as if it were an ordinary present. But the Old English *wāt*, pl. *witon*, though having the present meaning *I know*, will shew that it is a past form with which we have to deal, and other languages will offer like evidence. The early history, then, of the group is, that past forms have acquired a present meaning (e.g. *wāt* = I saw, therefore I know), and for such past forms, now detached from their originals, new forms have been constructed and associated with them to form a complete conjugation. From the peculiar constitution of their conjugation these verbs are called sometimes *preterite-presents*, sometimes *strong-weak*[2].

[1] My master *wotteth* not what is with me in the house. Gen. xxxix. 8.

[2] Besides the peculiarity of conjugation, common to the group, there are many points of interest in the conjugations of individual members of the group, e.g. *wist* (earlier *wis-se*) from *wit-ta*; *could* (earlier *cūþe*) from *cun-þa*; *shalt* (O.E. *scealt*), where the old termination of the 2nd pers. sing. p. indic. of strong verbs is kept.

26. But not only the prominent features of the conjugational system are suggested by Modern English, and more clearly by the earliest stage; details, which have left but faint traces, are still to be recognized. For example *am* (= *a-m*) is the only verb now that shews a termination for the first person, though in the oldest stage, where the peculiarity is of course more striking, since the pres. indic. ends regularly in a vowel, three other verbs, *do*, *go*, *be* are sometimes found with the same ending. The explanation is got by reference to the two kinds of present seen in Greek, e.g. *ei*mi and *tithe*mi alongside *tupto*; in *am* we have a verb in *mi*. Again, though as a rule the consonant framework of a strong verb is the same throughout, the present of *stood* is *stand*. But we have a parallel formation in Latin *vinco*, *vici*, &c., and in *stand* we may still see that formation of the present in which an *n* was infixed in the root.

Verbs in -*mi*.

Presents with infixed -n.

27. With regard to the suggestiveness of the modern forms in regard to mood little need be said. The unchanging present singular of the subjunctive points to the absence of person-endings, and the one verb which maintains the old distinction of vowel between the sing. and pl. of strong pasts—*were*—points to the fact that the past subjunctive had the vowel of the pl. indic., not that of the singular. Of the earlier distinctions marking person and number modern speech can say little. Nor is even the oldest stage very suggestive. In no tense are the persons distinguished in the plural, though the plural is distinguished by its termination from the singular. One point, already referred to, which suggests earlier history is found in such forms as *sceal*-t, *mih*-t (= mayest) in contrast with *wǣr*-e, all 2nd p. indic. sing. of strong verbs: these may shew the true character of this verbal form, and, in fact, a reference to Gothic bears out the suggestion. And it is mostly by reference to other speeches that the earlier condition of

Mood.

Person.

English must be learned. Thus the distinction of three persons in the plural, which is found in Gothic and Icelandic, points to the earlier condition of English.

28. But leaving the earlier history of conjugation we may briefly note what changes have taken place in the transition from old to modern English. As regards the two great classes of verbs there has been a change somewhat parallel to that which has affected the two great classes of nouns; there has been a tendency for verbs to pass from the strong to the weak class. The conjugation of the verb is another instance of the tendency to set up one rule instead of many for grammatical forms; and as the rule of the weak verbs was more easily recognized, and more easily applied, it was the one chosen. It is but rarely that a new verb can be fitted into any of the strong verb groups, while it easily adopts the conjugation of the weak. It follows, then, that the disproportion between the numbers of the two classes is constantly increasing in favour of the weak, and this favours the feeling (as may be noticed in the practice of children) that this class should be the only one[1]. In other respects, too, the same tendency is seen. *Were*, noticed above as the 2nd p. indic. sing., and all corresponding forms in strong verbs, have given way to *wast*, &c., with a formation like that of weak verbs. Very largely, though fortunately not entirely, the indicative usurps the place of the subjunctive. All terminations for person or number, but those of the 2nd person sing. pres. or past, and the 3rd pres. indic. sing. have disappeared. The elaborate structure of conjugation, like that of declension, has almost crumbled away, and the only direction in which extension shews itself

Main changes in conjugation since the Old English Period.

[1] It is rare that analogy leads to a reversal of the usual direction of change. *Wear*, however, by analogy (cf. *bear*, *tear*) is from a weak made into a strong verb. Sometimes, too, in attempting to be funny a writer allows analogy to betray him into a quite unintended accuracy, e.g. when *glode* is made the past tense of *glide*.

in the verb is, again as in the noun, in the use of independent words: the noun uses prepositions, and the verb uses auxiliaries.

29. As we are now to leave the consideration of the oldest stage of the language a few words may be said as to the name most appropriate to that stage. Should it be called Old (or Oldest) English, or Anglo-Saxon? On the one hand it is to be noticed that in speaking of the language the writers of the time use the word English; both Alfred and Ælfric describe themselves as translating into English, and from their time onwards it is the name given to the language by those who use it. On the other hand Anglo-Saxon is a term used of the people by themselves, more especially in reference to southern England, to which part the old literature mostly belongs; and it is a common practice to apply the same term to a people and to their language. As far at least then as concerns the representative form of the older speech Anglo-Saxon has some claims to recognition. Moreover, this stage has such strong characteristics in its almost unmixed vocabulary and comparatively highly inflected grammar, that by them it is marked off from succeeding stages, in which foreign words were introduced in ever increasing numbers, and in which inflections rapidly decayed. As a name for the cultivated speech of England down to the middle of the 11th century, or even later, the term Anglo-Saxon may be of use. But it is not without disadvantages. Especially it tends to obscure the continuity in the life of the language, and to give to one stage of it the character almost of a foreign speech. The use of the name, English, throughout, on the other hand, marks the unbroken development, which, though proceeding more rapidly at some times than at others, connects the earliest and latest stages of the language. If the true relation between these stages is borne in mind, the use of Anglo-Saxon in the sense given to it above may be convenient, but if this relation is in danger of being forgotten, it is certainly better to speak of Old or Oldest English.

The terms Anglo-Saxon and Old English.

CHAPTER XI.

Traces of foreign influence in English before the Norman Conquest slight—difference between conditions of Norman influence and those of earlier influences—the term *Norman-French*—Latin in Gaul—its character—the Franks in Gaul—they adopt the language of the conquered—the Northmen in France—they adopt the language of France—Norman influence in England before 1066—the Norman Conquest—fusion of Norman and English—French in England—a mark of race—a mark of class—use of French in the 14th century—disuse of French after 1350—in schools—among the upper classes—as an official language—*Latin of the Third Period*—loss of old words—limitation in the use of old material—English after 1066—the position of English dialects—continuous series of English writings—the English Chronicle in 1154—the Southern dialect c. 1200—the *Ancren Riwle*—Layamon's *Brut*—the East Midland dialect—the *Ormulum*—the Southern dialect c. 1300—Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle—its vocabulary—its grammar—the East Midland dialect—Robert of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne*—the Northern dialect—the Northumbrian Psalter—the Kentish dialect—the *Ayenbite of Inwyt*—literary English of the latter half of the 14th century—specimen from Chaucer—foreign element in its vocabulary—Old English element—grammatical forms—contrasts between the language of literature in the 11th and in the 14th centuries.

The traces of foreign influence in English before the Norman Conquest are slight.

1. With the conquest of England by the Normans came a new set of influences making for change in English speech. Before however attempting to consider the extent to which such influences were operative, it may be well to remind ourselves of the degree to which on earlier occasions

English speakers had shewn themselves susceptible to foreign influence. Celtic speech, the language of the conquered natives, had lived alongside English, the language of the conquering intruders, for centuries, but had produced little impression upon it. Latin, the language of the Church and of scholars, had been in use for a not much shorter period, but few Latin words had been adopted. The Danes had made settlements in the country two centuries before the Normans came, and in the end ruled in England; but, though in parts of the country a comparatively considerable number of Danish words might be used, the literary language of England remained to the end practically the language of Alfred. The differences between the various forms of speech in different parts of the country might be more strongly marked than they had been when the Teutonic invaders settled in different parts of Britain, but the vocabulary of the most cultivated form of English speech in the first half of the 11th century, still for the most part depended upon the original Teutonic material, and its grammar still for the most part preserved the old forms. As regards language, then, the English, though not refusing all change, had yet shewn themselves little disposed to allow their native forms to be ousted by foreign competitors.

The difference between the conditions under which Norman influence was exercised and those of earlier influences.

2. The case, which on the appearance of the Normans presented itself for determination, was an interesting variation on those which had been already worked out without materially affecting the Teutonic character of the language. English could hold its ground, though a quite distinct speech, Celtic, existed in the country along with it; but then the speakers of the latter were a conquered race. It could still hold its ground, when the Danes ruled England; but then English and Danish were very near akin, and the rule was not for long. Latin, as a spoken language, never came into competition with it. The question that asked for answer in 1066 was, what would become of English, when

a speech, quite distinct from it, was spoken by rulers of England whose rule was to be permanent?

3. And here it may be noted that the very name given to that distinct speech suggests how for similar questions the answers had been worked out in earlier times; answers, which thanks to the Norman Conquest were to prove of lasting interest to English. For a language—*Norman-French*—whose name is built up from words that point to two races of the Teutonic stock, the Northmen and the Franks, yet shews only faint traces of Teutonic speech, and finds its place among the derivatives from Latin. To explain this want of correspondence between the name and the character of the language we must go back to the Roman colonization of Gaul. The Celts of that country, unlike their kinsmen of Britain, almost entirely gave up their native speech, and adopted a form of Latin. Their knowledge of Latin was not, however, gained by studying the great writers or by listening to the talk of educated Romans, but rather by intercourse with soldiers and colonists. It is not, then, to the vocabulary of classical Latin that we are to look for much of the material from which was formed the speech of Gaul, nor are we to suppose that in such speech the grammatical accuracy of classical Latin was preserved[1]. It is not from the same word that the terms denoting the knightly classes of Rome and of France are derived; though each class owes its title to the same characteristic, yet for the Roman *eques* and the French *chevalier* the titles are derived from different sources[2].

Derivation of the term 'Norman-French.'

Latin in Gaul —its character.

[1] A rough parallel to the relation between the literary Latin and the form which gave rise to the Romance language in Gaul may perhaps be found in the relation between the language of Longfellow or Lowell and the colloquial speech given in the works of Bret Harte.

[2] The point illustrated by the use of *equus* and *caballus* is an important one; it marks the character of the Latin that was the source of the Romance speech of Gaul; in so far, then, as that speech affected English, it becomes of importance to English.

The language, which by the end of the first century after Christ had supplanted Celtic, was in course of time subjected to a foreign influence, for Gaul became the land of the Franks. A case like that spoken of above presented itself for determination, that of a conqueror living with the conquered from whom he differed in both race and speech, and it was settled by the conqueror accepting, though with a slight admixture of his own, the language of the conquered. The Franks, then, at the end of the 10th century spoke a Romance speech.

The Franks in Gaul—they adopt the language of the conquered.

One case thus determined, circumstances connected with the first element of the name we are noting, led to the occurrence of another. The Northmen who had ravaged France not less than England, at length, as in England, obtained a permanent footing there. As at the end of the 9th century the English king had yielded part of his territory to the Danes, so at the beginning of the 10th the French king yielded up Neustria to Rollo and his followers. Again it was a question what would be the outcome of the competition between the different languages of conquering and conquered, and again it was with the language of those who had been defeated that the victory rested. In the middle of the 11th century the Scandinavian speech of the original conquerors of Normandy was no longer that of their descendants; a form of Romance speech, naturally with characteristics that distinguished it from forms current in other localities, had taken its place. Thus the language, whose name might seem to imply merely a mixture of Teutonic elements, is one in which few traces even of Teutonic influence are to be found, and the material which made its way from *Norman-French* into English can be spoken of as *Latin of the Third Period.*

The Northmen in France—they adopt the language of France.

4. Though the year 1066 is conveniently prominent as a date for marking the beginning of this period, yet it should

be noted that before this an opportunity to exert an influence upon English had not been wanting to Norman-French. Ethelred had married a daughter of the ducal house of Normandy, and the success of the Danes in England had driven the sons of the marriage into exile at the Norman Court. Naturally Edward looked not unkindly upon the country where he had found asylum, and something of Norman influence may well have been felt in England during his reign. But the Conquest took place so soon after his death that it is unnecessary to mark off the contributions of this preliminary period from those which in such large numbers were made when the Normans were settled in England.

Norman influence in England before 1066.

5. Passing, then, to the time of the Conquest we find the case presenting itself of two quite distinct speeches current in the same country, the one that of a foreign conqueror, the other that of the conquered natives. The previous record of the two peoples as regards language was, as we have seen, somewhat different; the conquerors were speaking a language that to their forefathers less than 200 years before had been a foreign speech, the conquered were speaking a language that, from times before those in which they had been the conquerors of the country, they had preserved almost intact. To an Englishman, who in 1066 might have been concerned for the fate of his native language, a consideration of the earlier circumstances of English and Normans might have afforded some consolation; for while the latter had shewn a readiness to adopt a foreign speech, and that too one whose speakers they had defeated, the former had shewn a tenacity in their hold upon their native speech, which whether they were conquerors or conquered never failed. Before noticing how far the hope which such a consideration might have inspired, was realized, a few words may be said as to the fusion of the two races; for with that fusion came the working out of a language common to the resultant nation.

The Norman Conquest.

Fusion of Normans and English.

At first the two races were antagonists; but signs of approach may be seen when William II, at the time of his accession, is assisted by the English against Robert with his Norman supporters. Like circumstances attended the accession of Henry I, whose marriage with one of the Old English royal stock marked a policy that favoured union. His rule, too, during which order was enforced in the case of both Norman and English tended to weld together the two elements; while the very anarchy of Stephen's time might help to confound distinctions of race. The case of Stephen's successor, who was descended from both the Old English and Norman royal families, may, if the author of the *Dialogus de Scaccario* is to be trusted, be taken as typical of the condition prevailing among a considerable part of his subjects. The writer speaking of Henry's times says the two races had become so mixed by intermarrying that, leaving the villein class out of account, it was hardly possible to decide who was of English, who of Norman race[1]. And in keeping with this statement is the changed significance which comes to belong to the terms English and Norman when contrasted. It is not so much difference of race that is marked, as difference of country; the native of England, whatever his descent, is English, the native of Normandy is Norman; and this conception of the contrast implied was confirmed by the loss of the foreign possessions of the English kings. How all classes were being compacted into one people the proceedings connected with Magna Charta may shew; while yet later, and under circumstances which brought union and not dissension between king and people, a sense of national unity was fostered by the wars with Scotland and with France. And so it came

[1] Iam cohabitantibus Anglicis et Normannis, et alterutrum uxores ducentibus vel nubentibus, sic permixtae sunt nationes, ut vix discerni possit hodie, de liberis loquor, quis Anglicus quis Normannus sit genere; exceptis duntaxat ascriptitiis qui villani dicuntur, quibus non est liberum obstantibus dominis suis a sui status conditione discedere.

about that within three hundred years of the conquest of England by Normandy a poet who used the dialect of Northern England could write thus of the two countries and of the English king:

Of Ingland had my hert grete care
When Edward founded first to were.
Þe Franche men war frek to fare
Ogaines him with scheld and spere;
Þai turned agayn with sides sare,
And al Þaire pomp noght worth a pere.

A pere of prise es more sum tyde
Þan all Þe boste of Normondye.
. . . . .
Þai fled, and durst no dede habide,
And all Þaire fare noght wurth a flye.

ffor all Þaire fare Þai durst noght fight,
For dedes dint had Þai slike dout;
. . . . .
Now God help Edward in his right,
Amen, and all his redy rowt.

(LAURENCE MINOT.)

French in England—a mark of race,

6. Turning now from the peoples to follow the fortunes of their languages; to begin with we have a condition in which these were distinctive of race. The necessary intercourse between those who lived in the same country would naturally have as a result, that some of either race would become more or less acquainted with the language of the other; but for some time the natural speech of the Norman was Norman-French, as that of the Englishman was English. But from the first the relative positions of the two races must have tended to make the use of French distinctive in another way. French was the language of the higher class because the race to which it belonged formed the most important element in that class. And when the distinction of race had become obscured, distinction of class remained, and

one point that marked the higher from the lower was the use of French. That at the end of the 13th century French held its position in England by a tenure, which had somewhat changed from that of the earlier time, may be seen from the lines of Robert of Gloucester, with which he concludes his account of the Norman Conquest·

a mark of class.

Þus com, lo! Engelond • into Normandies hond.
& þe Normans ne couþe speke þo • bote hor owe speche,
& speke French as hii dude atom • & hor children dude also teche.
Sc þat heiemen of þis lond • þat of hor blod come,
Holdeþ alle þulke speche • þat hii of hom nome.
Vor bote a man conne Frenss • me telþ of him lute;
Ac lowe men holdeþ to Engliss • & to hor owe speche ȝute.
Ich wene þer ne beþ in al þe world • contreyes none,
þat ne holdeþ to hor owe speche • bote Engelond one.
Ac wel me wot uor to conne • boþe wel it is,
Vor þe more þat a man can • þe more wurþe he is.

And that French was regarded rather as a foreign speech at this time, even by those of the class that had used it since the Conquest, is shewn by the terms in which Edward I. addresses the Archbishop and Clergy in the summons to the Parliament of 1295. The country was then at war with France, and an appeal was made to the patriotism of the clergy by telling how the French king had threatened that, if he were successful, he would utterly destroy the English tongue[1].

Use of French in the 14th century.

In the 14th century the position of French is yet more clearly defined by the words of a contemporary writer. Higden (d. 1363), whose *Polycronicon* comes down to the year 1342, says (to quote the translation of 1385): 'Chyldern in scole, aȝenes þe usage and manere of al oþer nacions, buþ compelled for to leue *here*

[1] Rex Franciae...praedictis fraude et nequitia non contentus, ad expugnationem regni nostri classe maxima et bellatorum copiosa multitudine congregatis, cum quibus regnum nostrum et regni ejusdem incolas hostiliter jam invasit, *linguam Anglicam, si conceptae iniquitatis proposito detestabili potestas correspondeat, quod Deus avertat, omnino de terra delere proponit.*

oune longage, & for to construe here lessons & here þinges a Freynsch, & habbeþ, suþþe þe Normans come furst into Engelond. Also gentil men children buþ ytauȝt for to speke Freynsch fram tyme þat a buþ yrokked in here cradel, & conneþ speke and playe wiþ a child hys brouch; and oplondysch men wol lykne hamsylf to gentil men, & fondeþ wiþ gret bysynes for to speke Freynsch, for to be more ytold of[1].' From this it is evident that English was the natural speech of all living in England, and that French was a foreign one to be deliberately acquired. And that such was the light in which the two were regarded may be shewn by an extract from the *Cursor Mundi* (c. 1320), whose author says:

þis ilke boke is translate
Unto Engliss tung to rede
For þe luue of Englijs lede,
Englis lede of meri Ingeland
For þe comen to unþerstand.
Frenkis rimes here I rede
Comunli in ilka stede;
þat es most made for Frankis men,
Quat helpes him þat non can cen.
Of Ingland þe nacione
Er Englijs men in comune,
þe speche þat men may mast wid spede
Mast to speke þarwid war nede;
Seldom was for ani chance
Englis tong preched in France,
Gif we þaim ilkan þair language
And þan do we non uterage.
To lewid and Englis men I spell
þat understandis quat I can tell.

The feeling here expressed is somewhat like that which in later times might have been felt by a patriotic Russian, who

[1] Pueri in scholis, contra morem caeterarum nationum, a primo Normannorum adventu derelicto proprio vulgari, construere Gallice compelluntur; item filii nobilium ab ipsis cunabulorum crepundiis ad Gallicum idioma informantur. Quibus profecto rurales homines assimilari volentes, ut per hoc spectabiliores videantur, francigenare satagunt omni nisu.

protested against the use of French by the higher classes of his countrymen. It is not the preference given to one of two languages, where both have a right to exist, that is the subject of complaint, but the preference given to a foreign over the native language.

Disuse of French after c. 1350—in schools and among the upper classes,

That in the first half of the 14th century French occupied such a position in England as has been indicated was soon to lead to very important results. Having no stronger hold upon the country than the precarious one which fashion gave, it was unable to withstand the strong anti-French feeling produced by the wars of Edward III., and rapidly lost ground. So the translator of Higden, quoted above, finds it necessary when writing in 1385 to append this very significant note to the statement of his original: 'Þys manere (the manner described in the previous extract) was moche y-used tofore þe furste moreyn (1349), & ys seþþe somdel ychaunged. For Iohan Cornwel, a mayster of gramere, chayngede þe lore in gramerscole, & construccion of Freynsch into Englysch; & Richard Pencrych lurnede þat manere techyng of hym, & oþer men of Pencrych; so þat now, þe 3er of oure Lord a þousond þre hondred foure score & fyue, of þe secunde kyng Richard after þe conquest nyne, in al þe gramerscoles of Engelond childern leueþ Frensch and construeþ & lurneþ an Englysch, and habbeþ þerby avauntage in on syde & desavauntage yn anoþer; here avauntage ys, þat a lurneþ here gramer yn lasse tyme þan childern wer ywoned to do—disavauntage ys, þat now childern of gramerscole conneþ no more Frensch þan can here lift heele, & þat ys harm for ham, & a scholle passe þe se & trauayle in strange londes, & in meny caas also. Also gentil men habbeþ now moche yleft for to teche here childern Frensch.' The writer, no doubt, thought it unnecessary to remark that the 'oplondysch men' also ceased to cultivate French. Significant, too, of the transition are the words of Sir John Maundeville in the preface to his book of

travels, written in the middle of the century: 'I have put this boke out of Latyn into Frensche, and translated it a3en out of Frensche into Englyssche, that every man of my nacioun may understonde it.'

as an official language.

Nor was official recognition of the change wanting. By a statute of 1362 the previous practice of conducting pleadings in the law courts in French was altered, and it was ordered that the pleadings should henceforth be in English. The reason for this step, according to the preamble of the statute, was that great 'mischiefs arose, because the laws, customs and statutes of the realm were not commonly holden and kept in the same realm, for that they were pleaded, shewed and judged in the French tongue, which is much unknown in the realm'; it was consequently considered advisable that customs and laws should appear in the tongue used in the realm.

Before the end of the 14th century, then, it had been settled that of the two languages which confronted one another in 1066, the national speech of the people, who had grown from the fusion of the two races that spoke them, should be the one that before 1066 had been able to hold its own in the island against all comers; and in the works of Chaucer and of Wicklif at once came ample proof that English was worthy of the title which once more it had vindicated for itself, that of a national language.

Effects of French on English.

7. But though the language which had been adopted by the Normans in the home of their first conquest was not destined to meet with a like acceptance from the people of the country to which after a second conquest they transferred it, yet it survived there long enough to produce a strong, and, to a very great extent, a lasting impression on the language of England. For after its coming the older practice of the native speech in respect both to vocabulary and to grammar was revolutionized. English was no longer the language of the most powerful and the most

cultivated, as it had been in the days of Alfred and of Ælfric; it could not resist the imposition upon it of the terms most characteristic of a dominant class, terms connected with government and law, with the Church, with sports and with war; and as it was no longer the language of scholars, its grammatical accuracy decayed in the home of Ælfric of Winchester, as before his time it had decayed in the home of Alcuin of York.

Latin of the Third Period.

8. When speaking of Latin of the First and Second Periods, it was possible within moderate limits to give the contributions to the language which fall under those headings. But to Latin of the Third Period belongs so large a number of words that no list of them can be attempted, and only certain points of contrast with the earlier cases can be noted. In the first place the new material was not so much as had been the case before an enlargement of the resources of the vocabulary. On the one hand the introduction of French words often meant the exclusion of native ones: *cyne-lic*, *cyne-stōl*, *cyne-helm*, *cyne-gierd* were replaced by *royal*, *throne*, *diadem* or *crown*, *sceptre*; *dēma*, *sacu* by *judge*, *case* or *suit*; in the language of religion *dēād-bōt*, *mildheortnes*, *gifu* give way to *penance*, *mercy*, *grace*; *friþ* and *sibb*, *wīg*, *sige*, *fierd* are displaced by *peace*, *war*, *victory*, *army*; and the great council of the nation is not the *witena gemōt*, the meeting of its wise men, but *Parliament*, an assembly of speakers. On the other it meant the use of two words, which at first denoted approximately the same thing, e.g. *arms* as well as *weapons*, *battle* and *fight*, *county* and *shire*, *people* and *folk*.

Loss of old words.

Transference instead of translation.

Further, the adoption of French words marked the abandonment of the old plan in accordance with which native material had been used to translate the new idea expressed by a foreign word; such usage as gave to the language words like *bōcere* and *sundor-hālga* died out, and the borrowing which gave *scribe* and *pharisee* took its place. The language, then, had turned aside from the

course, which earlier it had followed, to pursue a track in which, less and less depending upon its own resources, it more and more lost the singleness of vocabulary which once had marked it. The Norman Conquest broke down the barriers which foreign languages had found so difficult to surmount, and opened free way for the numberless foreign elements which since have found a place in English.

9. So far it has been rather the negative side of the case that has been noticed, and the fortunes of French have been followed until they reach the point at which all chance of its becoming the language of England is lost. We must now turn to the positive side and try to notice how from Old English speech in the main was worked out a language, which thus from the nature both of its vocabulary and grammar properly retained the old name, English.

English after 1066.

It has been seen that before the Norman Conquest among the different forms of English speech, one, that of Wessex, was preeminent. To Wessex belonged political supremacy, and in its dialect the greatest part of the Old English literature that has come down to us is written: of the others only scanty specimens remain. But after the fall of the English power no English dialect had the same advantage over its fellows as had been got by the speech of Alfred and of Ælfric; very much the same case presented itself, though from a different cause, as earlier times had offered, when various English kingdoms were still contending for supremacy; once more it was a question what form of English should become the representative English speech. Of the language conditions which existed during the period which elapsed before the question so put received its answer, we must now try to gain some idea. Naturally the characteristics of the earlier times continued to mark the later. The grammar of the South remained fuller than that of the North, so much so that the Kentish *Ayenbite of Inwyt* (1340) shews inflections that

The position of English dialects.

two centuries before had been discarded by the Northern writers. The vocabulary of the North shews the influence of the Scandinavians in the numerous words it contains adopted from them, while the vocabulary of the South shews few such words. On the other hand the vocabulary of the South shews much stronger marks than does that of the North of the later Norman influence; there are far more French words in the former than in the latter. The preservation of earlier distinctions, too, may be noted. In the 14th century the dialect of Kent is still distinguished from other Southern speech; and north of the Thames the earlier grouping of Northumbrian and Mercian is continued by the distinction of Northern from East and West Midland dialects. And not only by difference of grammar and vocabulary were dialects marked, the forms, whether spoken or written, of words were different. How the conditions we are trying to realize struck a contemporary may be seen by the following extract from a work already quoted, Higden's *Polycronicon*, as translated by John of Trevisa: 'Englysch men, þey3 hy hadde fram þe bygynnyng þre maner speche, Souþeron, Norþeron, & Myddel speche (in the myddel of þe lond), as hy come of þre maner people of Germania, noþeles, by commyxstion & mellyng furst wiþ Danes & afterward wiþ Normans, in menye þe contray longage is apeyred (*corrupta*), & som useþ strange wlaffyng, chyteryng, harryng & garryng, grisbittyng (*boatus et garritus*)...Hyt semeþ a gret wonder hou3 Englysch, þat ys þe burþ-tonge of Englysch men and here oune longage & tonge, ys so dyuers of soun in þis ylond, & þe longage of Normandy ys comlyng (*adventitia*) of anoþer lond, & haþ on maner soun among al men þat speke þ hyt ary3t in Engelond. Noþeles þer ys as meny dyuers maner Frensch yn þe rem of Fraunce as ys dyuers manere Englysch in þe rem of Engelond. Also, of (*de*) þe foreseyde Saxon tonge þat ys deled a þre...men of þe est wiþ men of þe west, as hyt were undur þe same party of heuene, acordeþ more in sounyng of speche þan men of þe norþ wiþ men of þe souþ; þerfore hyt

ys þat Mercij, þat buþ men of myddel Engelond, as hyt were parteners of þe endes, undurstondeth betre þe syde longages, Norþeron & Souþeron, þan Norþeron & Souþeron understondeþ eyþer oþer. Al þe longage of þe Norþumbres, & specialych at ȝork, ys so scharp, slyttyng & frotyng, & unschape (*ita stridet incondita*), þat we Souþeron men may þat longage unneþe (*vix*) undurstonde. Y trowe þat þat ys bycause þat a buþ ny3 to strange men & aliens þat speke þ strangelych, & also bycause þat þe kynges of Engelond woneþ alwey fer fram þat contray: For a buþ more yturnd to þe souþ contray; & ȝef a goþ to þe norþ contray, a goþ wiþ gret help & strengþe. Þe cause why a buþ more in þe souþ contray þan in þe norþ may be, betre cornlond, more people, more noble cytes, & more profytable hauenes.' The end, to which the original of this passage had pointed, had been reached when (in 1385) the translation was made. For it was from neither of the extremes, Norþeron and Souþeron, that the representative speech of England had come; the North was far from the political and social centre of the kingdom, 'þe kynges of Engelond woneþ alwey fer fram þat contray'; and as that centre was no longer Winchester, but London, it was not given to the speech of Wessex to regain its old supremacy. It was in a dialect of 'myddel Engelond' where lived the 'parteners of the ends' that Chaucer wrote, and in his writings the East Midland attained the dignity of a national language.

10. From the period between the Norman Conquest and the writing of the *Canterbury Tales* has come down a fairly continuous series of works, in which the Northern and Midland forms of English speech are as well represented as is the Southern. From these works a few specimens may now be taken in order to shew both some of the marks by which the speeches of different localities are distinguished from one another, and some of the changes which these speeches underwent during the period in question.

The material from which a knowledge of English may be gained from 1066 to 1400.

The Conquest, fortunately, does not mark a break in the continuity of the linguistic record. Of the four MSS. of the Chronicle which were carried on until 1066, one ends with that year, and two others make their last entries under the years 1070 and 1079 respectively; but the fourth, that connected with Peterborough, is not closed until the accession of Henry II. is recorded. A brief examination of a passage from this final entry will shew something of the condition of the East Midland dialect about a hundred years after the Conquest:

The English Chronicle of 1154.

On þis gær wærd þe king Stephen ded & bebyried þer his wif & his sune wæron bebyried æt Fauresfeld. Þæt minstre hi makeden. Þa þe king was ded. þa was þe eorl beionde sæ. & ne durste nan man don oþer bute god for þe micel eie (*awe*) of him. Þa he to Engleland com. þa was he underfangen (*received*) mid micel wurtscipe. & to king bletcæd in Lundene on þe Sunnendæi beforen midwinterdæi. & held þær micel curt.

Here, as regards vocabulary, there is little to indicate foreign influence; but the one instance of a French word is characteristic, and while in 1101 it is said that the king 'heold his *hired*,' in 1154 the king holds his *curt*[1]. Change, however, in the use of English material may be noticed, and the fate of two English words is foreshadowed by the abandonment both of the regular phrase in the early entries, when the death of a king is recorded, e.g. 'Eadweard *ford-ferde*,' and of another English verb, *sweltan*, e.g. 'Willelm *swealt* on Normandige.' *Bless*, too, tends to displace *hallow*, cf. the entry under 1042:

[1] The passage in its slight use of foreign words is characteristic of the Chronicle. Morris (*Grammar*, Appendix III, 'words of Norman-French origin in the English Language before 1300') gives only fourteen Norman-French words from the Chronicle. In the same Appendix are given words of this class occurring in other English works before 1300, and the student is referred to the material there collected to get an idea of the general indebtedness of English to Norman-French during the period covered.

'Her wæs Ædward *gehalgod* to cyng'; and *make* is used in a way that deprives *work* of part of its force, and may help to drive *timbrian* out of the language[1]. Short as the passage is, then, it will suggest three main classes of change—loss of old material, change in the use of old material, introduction of new material. Change of form is also to be seen; *e* takes the place of other vowels in terminations, *sune* for *sunu*; *makeden* for *macodon*; *beionde*, *Engleland*, *sunnen*, *beforen* for *begeondan*, *Englaland*, *sunnan*, *beforan*; diphthongs are simplified, the *dēad* and *hēold* of the Mercian Psalter are *ded* and *held* in our passage; the tendency to assimilation is shewn in the substitution of *þe* for *se* in the masculine of *þæt*. In the matter of inflections considerable progress has been made towards modern English: the neglect of case-endings may be seen from the following contrasts:

on þis gær	*for*	on þissum geare
æt Fauresfeld þæt minstre	,,	æt Fauresfelda þæm minstre
for þe micel eiē	,,	for þam miclan ēge
mid micel wurtscipe	,,	mid miclum weorþscipe
on þe sunnendæi	,,	on þam sunnandæge
to Engleland	,,	to Englalande
to king	,,	to cyninge

and number is not marked in

wæron bebyried *for* wæron bebyrigde.

In construction, too, modern tendencies are to be seen. The use of the passive, 'þe king *wærd bebyried*,' instead of the active with the indefinite *man*, may be contrasted with this latter use in the entry of 1066: 'Se cyng Eadward forðferde, and *hine mann bebyrgede*.' The omission of the relative in 'the minster (which) they made' is quite usual in modern English, but was rare in the old, where the regular construction is that of the following verse, 'þa burh þe Adames bearn getimbrodon' (Gen. xii. 5); this now might be rendered 'the city

[1] *Mynster wyrcan*, *mynster timbrian* are usual phrases of Old English, neither is now used.

Adam's children were building,' and the omission of the relative would not attract notice. And the increasing use of the prepositional phrase instead of inflection gives us the quite modern form 'for the micel eie of *him*' in place of one in which the genitive *his* would be used: cf. the old and modern renderings of John vii. 13:

Ne spæc nan man openlice for þæra *Iudea* ege.

No man spake openly for fear *of the Jews*.

Finally it may be noted that modern English uses nearly all the material contained in the passage. The adverb *þa* and the verb which is contained in *under-fangen* have quite disappeared; *hi* has yielded to *they*; *wærd*, infin. *weorþan*, the corresponding form of which is still so much used in German, has now a very slender hold on English in 'Woe *worth* the day'; the common word *awe* is rather from the Scandinavian form of a word cognate with *eie* (earlier *ege*), than from *eie* itself; and *þer* can no longer be used as a relative, but with these exceptions the language is almost that of to-day.

The Ancren Riwle and the Southern dialect.

11. Language, however, in other parts of England at the same time was by no means equally suggestive of modern English; and even fifty years later a southern writer used grammatical forms already abandoned in the dialect of the chronicler. This may be seen in the following extract from *The Ancren Riwle*, a work composed soon after 1200 for the instruction of the sisters of a religious house in Dorset:

Uorþi was ihoten a Godes half iðen olde lawe þet put were euer iwrien; & ȝif eni unwrie put were, & best feolle þerinne, he hit schulde ȝelden þet þene put unwreih. Þis is a swuðe dredlich word to wummen þet scheaweð hire to wepmonnes eien. Heo is bitocned bi þe þet unwrieð þene put: þe put is hire veire

Therefore it was ordered on the part of God in the old law that a pit should be ever covered, and if there were any uncovered pit, and a beast fell therein, he should pay for it, that uncovered the pit. This is a very dreadful saying for a woman that shews herself to a man's eyes. She is betokened by the person that

neb, & hire hwite swire, & hire hond, ȝif heo halt forð in his eihsihðe. Best is þe bestliche mon þet ne þencheþ nout of God, ne ne noteþ nout his wit ase mon ouh to donne.

uncovers the pit: the pit is her fair face, and her white neck, and her hand, if she holds it forth in his eyesight. A beast is the brutish man that thinks not of God, nor uses his wit as one ought to do.

That in this passage, though we are nearer in time to the modern speech, we are further in fact from it than in the previous specimen, will probably be felt at once, and a brief examination of the work makes it easy to account for the impression. As regards vocabulary, there is again slight trace[1] of foreign influence. *Best* and *bestlich* shew French material displacing the native *nīeten*[2] and *nīetenlic*, and *law*, which is of Scandinavian origin, turns out the native *æ*[3]. Change in native words, too, is seen in *scheawed*; the verb *to shew* (scēawian) earlier, like German *schauen*, meant *to look*; here it has taken the place of old *æt-īewan*, which consequently ceases to be used. *Ouh*, again, which denoted possession as in *ow-n*, is encroaching upon *shall*, and is coming to denote obligation, as in *ough-t*. Lastly it will be noticed that much of the material has been either lost or so changed that it is not readily connected with modern English. *I-hoten*, *i-wrien*, *swuþe*, *wæpmon*, *swire*, *noteþ*, have entirely disappeared; *heo* (the true feminine of *he*) for which the chronicler was already using *scæ*, has, except in dialects, been replaced by *she*; *half*, *ȝelden*, *neb*, *ouh* are left in *be-half*, *yield*, *nib* or *neb*, *owe*, but the old meanings *side*, *pay*, *face*, *ought*, are so different from the present, that the

[1] But it will be seen from a glance at the lists given by Morris (v. *ante* p. 218, n.) that the proportion of French words is much greater in the *Ancren Riwle* than in the Chronicle. The ecclesiastical character of the former work may partly explain this.

[2] The reference in the passage is to Exod. xxi. 34, where the old West Saxon version translates *jumentum* by *nīeten*.

[3] For the change from *æ* to *law* Lk. x. 26 in the versions of c. 1000 and c. 1150 may be noted; the former has: Hwæt is gewriten on þære *æ*; the latter: Hwæt is gewriten on þare *lage*.

connection of the earlier and later forms is obscured; and *dredlich* has been an unsuccessful competitor of *dred-ful*. In their vocabularies, then, the two passages illustrate the same general changes, but the later has less in common with modern English than the earlier. And this distinction is yet more definitely marked in the grammatical forms. Thus in contrast with the earlier the later shews the following inflections:

i ðen olde lawe (*dat.*)	*representing* in ðæm ealdan lage	(*the feminine gender of* lagu *is however not kept*)
þene put (*acc.*)	„	þone pyt
wummen (*dat.*)	„	wifmen (wimmen)
eien (*dat. pl.*)	„	eagum
eihsihðe (*dat.*)	„	eagsihðe:

The definite declension of the adjective is marked in *þe bestliche mon, hire veire neb, hire hwite swire, i* ðen *olde lawe* (cf. *for þe micel eie* in the Chronicle).

In pronouns the old *he, heo, hit* contrasts with *he, scæ, it*, of the Chronicle, and the instrumental of the demonstrative is kept in *Uorþi*. It will be seen, then, that the grammar of the *Ancren Riwle* is hardly further removed from Old English than the grammar of the Chronicle is from modern English.

One other kind of difference between the two dialects may be just noted—difference of form. Thus the old *ā* of *gehāten* in the Chronicle (1154) appears as *ō* in the *ihoten* of our passage, and in *bitocned*; *ēo* of the old preterites, *hēold, fēoll*, is kept in *fēolle* while the Chronicle has *held*; and *v* takes the place of *f* in v*or* and v*eire*, while *f* remains in the other dialect.

Further illustration of the Southern dialect—Layamon's Brut.

12. The different characters of the two dialects, the one suggestive of the past, the other of the future, present a contrast that may justify a further attempt to illustrate some of the language conditions in those dialects early in the 13th century. To that period belong the *Brut* of Layamon and the *Ormulum*. Layamon, who was a priest living in Worcestershire, wrote a metrical chronicle, based

mainly on the Anglo-Norman chronicle of Wace[1], dealing with British history from fabulous times down to the end of the 7th century. Two texts of the work exist, one of which is about fifty years later than the other; it is from the earlier (c. 1205), that the following lines are taken:

And ich wulle uaren to Aualun	And I will fare to Avalon
To uairest alre maidene	to fairest of all maidens
To Argante þere quene	to Argante the queen
& heo shal mine wunden	and she shall my wounds
makien alle isunde	make all sound
al hal me makien	all whole me make
mid haleweiȝe drenchen	make me to drink of balm.
And seoðe ich cumen wulle	And after I will come
to mine kineriche	to my kingdom
and wunien mid Brutten	and dwell with Britons
mid muchelere wunne	with much delight
Æfne þan worden	Lo at those words
þer com of se wenden	there came moving from sea
þat wes an sceort bat liðen	it was a short boat sailing
sceouen mid uðen	driven with the waves
and twa wimmen þerinne	and two women therein
wunderliche idihte	wonderfully arrayed
and heo nomen Arður anon	and they took Arthur anon.

How the old language was still able to supply the author's needs is shewn by the fact, that with one exception—*haleweiȝe*, which if not English is at any rate Teutonic—all the words of this passage may be found in the Old English dictionary. And in respect to the absence of foreign material the extract is no unfair representative of the whole poem, for though the earlier text extends to nearly 30,000 lines, not 50 words of French origin are to be found in it[2]. That the poet was hardly less

[1] 'Boc he nom...þa makede a Frenchis clerc Wace wes ihoten.'

[2] The later text, which is rather shorter than the earlier, contains, besides about 30 French words common to both, about 40 others, so that in the 57,000 lines of the two there are scarcely 100 French words. This will shew how very slightly the vocabulary of at any rate one part of England had been affected by French so long after the Conquest as the first half of the 13th century.

faithful to the old grammar than to the old vocabulary will appear from the following comparisons.

Layamon.	*Old English*
alre maidene (*gen. pl.*)	ealra mægdena
þere quene (*dat. fem.*)	þære cwene
mine wunden alle isunde (*acc. pl.*)	mine wunda(-e) ealle gesunde
to mine kineriche (*dat. neut.*)	to minum cynerice
mid Brutten (*dat. pl.*)	mid Bryttum
mid muchelere wunne (*dat. fem.*)	mid mycelre wynne
þan worden (*dat. pl.*)	þam wordum
mid uðen (*dat. pl.*)	mid yðum
idihte (*nom. pl.*)	gedihte
ich *I*, heo *she*, heo *they*	ic, heo, hie

In the verbs the infinitive ending *-an* remains in the *-en* of *uaren*, *drenchen*, *cumen*, *wenden*, *liden*, and the ending *-ian* is distinguished from this in *makien*, *wunien*. The terminations are still kept in *wull-e*, *nom-en*, *sceou-en*=older *wille*, *nom-on*, *scof-en*. In two instances only is an inflection absent, viz. *uairest*=*fægrost*-um, and *hal*=*hal*-ne; and twice besides strict grammar is neglected, *wund*-en is made weak instead of strong, and the feminine form of the numeral is used with *wimmen*; but as the feminine pronoun (*seo* wifman, Judges iv. 21) is found with the word before the Conquest, this latter instance need not be pressed. Hardly anywhere in the passage has the language broken with the past, and in its unmixed vocabulary and well preserved inflections there is little to suggest the modern English, which draws its words from many sources and has its grammar simple.

The East-Midland dialect—the Ormulum.

13. To about the same time belong Layamon's *Brut* and the *Ormulum*, a collection of metrical homilies by Orm (or Ormin), of whom little more is known than that he was an Augustinian canon. In the matter of vocabulary the two works are alike in the slightness of the French element, but they differ in the extent to which they shew Scandinavian influence; in the *Ormulum* a large number of Danish words have worked to the

surface, as was to be expected in the dialect—the East Midland —used by the writer. A short extract may be enough to illustrate the contrast between different forms of contemporary English:

& bi þatt allterr stoden a33
þatt follkess [1]hali3domess,
þatt wærenn inn an arrke þær
wel & wurrplike [2]3emmde.
& tær oferr þatt arrke wass
an oferrwerrc wel [3]timmbredd,
& tær uppo þatt oferrwerrc
þe33 haffdenn liccness [4]metedd
off Cherubyn, & haffdenn itt
o twe33enn stokess metedd.
& att te minnstre-dure wass
an allterr þær wiþþuten;
& bi þatt allterr wass þe [5]lac
o fele wise [6]3arrkedd
þurrh preostess, alls uss se33þ soþ boc,
off Aaroness chilldre.

In the language of Layamon we are still close to the Old English grammar; in the language of Orm we are already close to the Modern English grammar. With the exception, among nouns, of *childre* (which represents the old *cildru*), and, among verbs, of the past plurals *wæren*, *hafden*, *stoden*, and the plural participle *3emde* (not *3emed*), there is nothing to differentiate the inflectional system of the passage from that of modern English. The nouns which follow prepositions governing the dative have the same form as the nominative (e.g. *oferwerc* in vv. 6, 7); the accusative after the verb has no termination in the old feminine *licnes*, and the relation of this word with *Cherubyn* is marked by a preposition, not as of old by the genitive[7]. The old demonstrative has given the two forms *þe*, *þat*, but neither takes

[1] relics. [2] kept. [3] built.
[4] painted. [5] sacrifice. [6] prepared.
[7] The contrast between the old and the modern on this point may be

inflection for case or gender; *þe* is for a dative feminine in *att te* (= *þe*) *minstre dure*, and for the neuter nominative in *þe lac*: *þat* is for the gen. neut. in *þat folkes*, for dat. neut. in *bi þat alter*, for dat. fem. in *ofer þat arke*. In the same way *an*, which in the phrase *in an arke* should be dat. fem. is undistinguished from the nom. neut. in *an oferwerc*. *Twezen*, also, has lost its old dative *twam*, and is no more distinguished in its cases than is the noun *stokes*, with which it agrees[1]. *It* drops the aspirate; *they* is already used instead of the old *hie*, and *their*, *them* can be used in the other cases. *That* instead of older *þe* is used as an indeclinable relative, and in v. 3 refers to a plural masculine. Even so short an extract as that given may shew that little change remained to be made in the grammar in order to reach the simplicity of modern English.

And the evidence of the *Ormulum* as to the condition of language in the district to which it belongs is all the more valuable from the fact, that its author shews himself to have been to a remarkable degree concerned for linguistic accuracy. He carefully marked quantity by doubling a consonant after a short vowel, when the consonant was final, e.g. *wass*, or was followed by another consonant, e.g. *werrc haffden*; when the consonant came between vowels, it remained single, e.g. *fele*. His interest in the matter is shewn by the appeal he makes to anyone who should transcribe his work:

> he loke well þatt he
> An bocstaff write twiȝȝess,

shewn by comparing the A.S. and A.V. renderings of the same passage:

Ne wirce ge eow nane andlicniss- *a nanes nytenes* ne *fugeles*.	Lest ye make you...the *likeness of any beast, the likeness of any fowl*. Deut. iv. 16, 17.

The *Ormulum* here is exactly on a level with the A.V.

[1] The contrast between the *Brut* and the *Ormulum* may here be illustrated. In the former Leir says: Ich habbe iȝeuen hit (the kingdom) mine *twam* dohtren. Again, while the former is on a level with Old English, the latter is at least as modern as the Authorized Version.

Egghwær þær itt uppo þiss boc
Iss wrītenn o þatt wise
Loke he well þatt hét write swa,
Forr he ne maȝȝ nohht elles
Onn Ennglissh wrítenn rihht te word,
þatt wite he well to soþe.

The dialects c. 1300—Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle:

14. If now we pass from 1200 to 1300 and take specimens of works that were written about the later date, we may see something of the language conditions of the time, and may get an approximate idea of the course which must have been followed by the two dialects in the interval. The first specimen is taken from the metrical chronicle of Robert of Gloucester, which was written at the close of the 13th century, and, as the surname of its author suggests, in a southern dialect. The passage occurs in the account of William the Conqueror:

Game of houndes he louede inou • & of wilde best,
& is forest & is wodes • & mest þe niwe forest,
þat is in Souþhamtessire • vor þulke he louede inou,
& astorede wel mid bestes • & lese mid gret wou.
Vor he caste out of house and hom • of men a gret route,
& binom hor lond, ȝe, þritti mile • & more þeraboute,
& made it al forest & lese • þe bestes uor to fede.
Of pouere men deserited • he nom lutel hede.
þeruore þerinne vel • mony mischeuing,
& is sone was þerinne issote • Willam, þe rede king;
& is o sone, þat het Richard • caȝte þer is deþ also.
& Richard, is o neueu • brec þere is nekke þerto,
As he rod an honteþ • & parauntre is hors spurnde.
þe unriȝt ido to pouere men • to such mesaunture turnde.

its vocabulary,

It may be inferred from a comparison of this passage with any of like extent in Layamon's Chronicle, that during the 13th century French words had been admitted into the language of the south-western parts of England in considerable numbers. In the fourteen lines given above occur *best*, *forest*, *astorede*, *route*, *pouere*, *deserited*,

mischeuing, *cazte*, *neueu*, *paraunture*, *mesaunture*[1]; and it will be noted that, practically, none of this material has since been abandoned. The language, as has been noticed, was differently affected by such borrowings; e.g. *deer* and *wood* remained alongside *beast* and *forest* (cf. Sher*wood Forest*); while *poor* has displaced the old *earm* and *þearfa*, and *heir* with its fellows turns out old *ierfe-numa*, *-weard*, &c. But in either case it meant that the borrowing of foreign words was the admitted practice of the language, while the vocabulary of Layamon is almost as exclusively English as is that of Ælfric[2].

its grammar.

The grammar, too, is completely changed from that of Layamon. The distinction of cases is lost; *bestes* is the accusative after *fede*, and the dative after *mid*; phrases with *of* take the place of the genitive, *game of houndes*, a *route of men*; *gret* has the same uninflected form when dat. neut. in *mid gret wou*, and when acc. fem. in *a gret route*; the weak declension of the adjective, however, seems marked in *þe rede king*, in the final *e* of *rede*. The definite article has the same form with the masc. nom. (*þe* king), the neut. nom. (*þe unriȝt*), the fem. acc. (*þe forest*), and the acc. pl. (*þe bestes*); the indefinite article is equally flexionless in *a* (acc. fem.) *route*; the relative *þat* refers to a masculine antecedent in l. 11, to a feminine in l. 3. The old infinitive form with which the extract from the *Ancren Riwle* ends—*to donne*—is replaced by *uor to fede*: instead of the dative, as in Layamon, 'ne *do* þu *him* nan *unriht*,' a preposition without case distinction is used '*þe unriȝt ido to pouere men*.' The grammar of the south has given up the tradition which Layamon had preserved, and, like the earlier *Ormulum*, Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle is everywhere suggestive of modern English.

[1] See the Appendix in Morris's Grammar already referred to for the extent of the French element in Robert of Gloucester.

[2] Besides the French element there is also a trace of Scandinavian in *cast*.

15. Naturally a contemporary East Midland work is not less suggestive in the same direction. In the following specimen, taken from Robert of Brunne's (Bourn in Lincolnshire) *Handlyng Synne*[1], little change would be needed to make it English of the present time:

Robert of Brunne's 'Handlyng Synne.'

Fro þat tyme þan wax Pers
A man of so feyre maners,
A mylder man ne myȝt nat be
Ne to þe pore more of almes fre;
And reuful of herte also he was,
þat mayst þou here [2]lere yn þys [3]pas.
Pers mette upon a day
A pore man by þe way,
As naked as he was bore,
þat yn þe se had alle [4]lore.
He come to Pers [5]þere he stode,
And asked hym sum of hys gode,
Sumwhat of hys cloþyng,
For þe loue of heuene kyng.
Pers was of reuful herte,
He toke hys kyrtyl of, as [6]smert,
And ded hyt on þe man aboue
And bad hym were hyt for hys loue.

In this passage it is not traces of modern English that have to be sought, it is traces of the old. The Scandinavian *fro* is used instead of *from*, the verb *wax* is still strong, the double negative can be used, *reuful* has its old sense *pitiful*, *lere*, properly *to teach*, is like the corresponding Danish word used with the meaning of *learn*, *alle* keeps the plural *e*, *lore* is the old *loren*, *þere* still has a relative force, *heuene* seems to be

[1] This is a translation, made in 1303, of William of Waddington's *Le Manuel des Pechiez*. The translator in another of his works speaks of himself thus:

Of Brunne I am, if any me blame,
Robert Mannyng is my name.

[2] learn. [3] passage. [4] lost. [5] where. [6] smartly, quickly.

the old gen. pl. *heofona*, and *do on* (later *don*) = to put on; this list about exhausts the differences that separate the passage perceptibly from Modern English. Amongst the rest which is so modern, one form is specially to be noted, the *of* at the end of the clause 'he *took* his kirtle *off*'; compare with this the Old English 'Ða *dyde* heo *of* hire reaf,' Gen. xxxviii. 14; it is very rare to find the preposition at the end of the clause in Old English; it is a construction common in Scandinavian and in Modern English; moreover of the verb itself very much the same remark may be made.

The Northern Dialect—the Northumbrian Psalter.

16. Two only of the main divisions of English have so far been noted; each has its special claims to consideration; the one from its relations to the speech of the old literature, the other from its relations to Modern English. But the third, the Northern, no less than the Southern, has claims to notice derived from the past; for in Northern English, Cædmon and Bede wrote long before Alfred and Ælfric were representatives of English literature. To illustrate some of the points which, as may be seen from the writer of the *Polycronicon*, were felt to distinguish in a very marked way Northern from both Midland and Southern dialects the following specimen is given from a Northumbrian Psalter. According to Professor Skeat it represents the Northumbrian dialect of the latter half of the thirteenth century.

Psalm xiv.

1. Lauerd, in þi telde wha sal wone?
   In þi hali hille or wha reste mone?
2. Whilke þat incomes wemles,
   And ai wirkes rightwisenes;
3. Þat spekes sothnes in hert his,
   And noght dide swikeldome in tung his,
   Ne dide to his neghburgh iuel ne gram;
   Ne ogaines his neghburgh upbraiding nam.
4. To noght es lede lither in his sight,
   And dredand Lauerd he glades right.

He þat to his neghburgh sweres,
And noght biswikes him ne deres.
Ne his siluer til okir noght es giuand;
Ne giftes toke ouer underand.
Þat does þese night and dai,
Noght sal he be stired in ai.

Higden remarks that southern men had some difficulty in understanding northern men because the latter differed so from the former in 'sounyng of speche.' To illustrate this point very slightly the southern forms of words occurring in the passage are put by the side of their northern equivalents:

N.	*S.* (Robert of Gloucester)
Lauerd, hali (*old* ā)	louerd, holi
wha (*old* hwā)	ho, wo
sal (*old* sceal)	ssal
hille, lither (*old* y)	hul, luther
whilke (*old* hwilc)	wuche
wirkes (*old* wyrceþ)	wurcheth
nogt, rigt (*old* h)	noȝt, riȝt
dide (*old* dide)	dude
nam (a *before nasal*)	nom
silver (*old* seolfor)	sulver
negh-burgh (*old* nēah-gebūr)	neihebur (the *Ancren Riwle*)

He also speaks of the Danish influence; this may be seen in the use of *mone* (Icel. *munu* shall), *til* (= to), *okir* (Icel. *ōkr*; the English form would have initial *w*) usury; and in the *-and* termination of the present participle (Icel. *-andi*), instead of *-inde* or *-ing*, as in the South. And the participle was not the only part of the verb which in this conjugation of the North must have struck a Southern ear. In the present tense, for example, the one inflexion *-es* of the North corresponds to *-si*, *-eþ* in the singular, and to *-eþ* in the plural of the South; and in the imperative plural again the North has *-es*, the South *-eþ*. The person-endings must have occurred so frequently[1], that

[1] It may be noted that in the short passage from John of Trevisa the *-eþ* termination occurs 15 times, and in the Northern Psalm *-es* occurs 8 times.

in this one particular the speaker of one dialect would on hearing the other be constantly struck by a sense of strangeness.

17. From these imperfect suggestions of a contrast between North and South we must turn to notice very briefly a contrast, of as long standing as the other, between different parts of the South. Before the Conquest the dialect of Kent differed from that of Wessex, and still in the 14th century Kent had a distinct dialect, as may be seen from the following short specimen. It is taken from a work whose authorship, title, and date are thus given by its writer: 'Þis boc is dan Michelis of Northgate, ywrite an Englis of his oȝene hand þet hatte[1]: Ayenbyte of inwyt[2]. And is of þe bochouse of saynt Austines of Canterberi...þis boc is [3]uolueld...ine þe yeare of oure lhordes beringe 1340.'

The Kentish dialect—the 'Ayenbite of Inwyt.'

Þe þridde Godes heste.

And ine þe stede of þe sabat þet wes straytliche yloked ine þe yalde laȝe, zet holi cherche þane zonday to loky ine þe newe laȝe. Vor oure lhord aros fram dyaþe to lyve þane zonday. An þeruore me ssel hine loky and ureþie zo holyliche and by ine reste of workes, and yeue hem more to godes seruise, and þenche ane his sseppere and him bidde and þonky of his guode. And huo þet brekþ þane zonday and þe oþre heȝe festes, þet byeþ yzet to loky ine holy cherche, zeneȝeþ dyadliche, uor he deþ aye þe heste of god, bote yef het by uor zome nyede þet holi cherche granteþ. Ac more zeneȝeþ þe ilke þet dispendeþ þane zonday and þe festes ine zenne.

That this dialect, which has much in common with that of Robert of Gloucester, is yet distinct from it, may be seen from comparing the following forms:

Kent.	*R. of G.*	*O. E.*
yald	old	eald
lhord	louerd	hlāford

[1] is called. [2] Remorse of conscience. [3] completed.

Kent.	*R. of G.*	*O. E.*
{dyaþ	deþ	dēaþ
{dyad	ded	dēad
ssel	ssal	sceal
ureþie	fruđien (Layamon)	friđian
by (*to be*)	be	bēon
ȝeue	ȝiue	giefan, gifan
guod	god	gōd
huo	ho, wo	hwā
heȝe	heie	hēage
byeþ	beþ	bēoþ
cherche	chirche	cyrice
zeneȝeþ	sunegeþ (Ancren Riwle)	syngian
zenne	sunne	synne
nyede	nede	nīed, nēad

and all the initial *z*'s of Kentish are *s*'s with Robert of Gloucester[1].

Before leaving this specimen of Kentish English one point in regard to its vocabulary may be noted. The work was translated from the French for the benefit of those who did not know that language, and intended for the ordinary layman; as the author says:

> Nou ich wille þet ye ywyte hou hit is y-went,
> Þet þis boc is y-write mid engliss of kent.
> Þis boc is y-mad uor lewede men
> Vor uader and uor moder and uor oþer ken.

Yet in the short quotation given above five words of French origin are used, *straytliche*, *seruise*, *festes*, *granteþ*, *dispendeþ*, and the first is so much at home in English that it has a native suffix. So that the Kentish dialect, even if it retained more of the old grammar than others, was not freer from foreign words than they were.

[1] There is not space to dwell upon the grammatical forms preserved in the Kentish dialect. As in other Southern works they are fuller than those of even earlier Northern and Midland specimens; for an account of them the student is referred to the preface of Dr Morris's edition of the *Ayenbite* in the E. E. T. Society's Publications.

18. It was very soon after the *Ayenbite of Inwyt* was written, that, according to John of Trevisa, French ceased to be used in England. For some three centuries, in one form or another, it had lived in the country. It had been the language of a conquering race, and the language of the upper classes; but, notwithstanding the advantages such positions conferred, it had never superseded any of the forms of native speech that it found when it first came. All these in varying degrees had felt its influence, but all were living with undiminished vitality, when it ceased to be the natural speech of any born in England. With its disappearance came a time when the competition for literary supremacy was once more between native candidates only; and this time it is not in the dialect of Wessex, but in the East Midland dialect, that the greatest English works are written. What form this language had taken in the latter half of the 14th century as a result of shaping processes, whose gradual working the previous specimens have slightly illustrated, may be to some extent shewn by a short consideration of a few lines of Chaucer:

Literary English in the latter half of the 14th century.

Specimen from Chaucer:

Whan that Aprille with his schowres swoote
The drought of Marche hath *perced* to the roote,
And bathed every *veyne* in swich *licour*,
Of which *vertue engendred* is the *flour*;
Whan Zephirus eek with his swete breethe
Enspired hath in every holte and heethe
The *tendre* croppes, and the yonge sonne
Hath in the Ram his halfe *cours* i-ronne,
And smale fowles maken *melodie*,
That slepen al the night with open eye,
So priketh hem *nature* in here *corages*:—
Thanne longen folk to gon on *pilgrimages*,
And *palmers* for to seeken *straunge* strondes,
To ferne halwes, kouthe in sondry londes;
And *specially* from every schires ende
Of Engelond, to Caunterbury they wende,

> The holy blisful *martir* for to seeke,
> That hem hath holpen whan that they were seeke.

its vocabulary—foreign material.

Turning first to the vocabulary, we may notice that about nine-tenths of the material is genuine Old English; that in the remaining one-tenth, one word, *martir*, had been used in Old English, another, *root*, is Scandinavian, the others are French: the passage, then, is fairly representative of the constituent elements of the language. With regard to the foreign material we may note first, that it has proved permanent; no part of it has since been lost by the language; and next, that it illustrates the different directions in which such material influenced the vocabulary. There were Old English equivalents for all but one of the foreign words used in the passage; the permanent adoption of the latter led either to the rejection, or to the restriction, of the former. Rejection may be seen in the following cases:

French	*O. E.*
pierce	þyrlian[1]
vein	ædre (cf. *Ger.* ader)
engender	a-cennan[2]
inspire	on-orðian (*or*, on-ablawan)[3]
tender	mearu[4]
melodie	swinsung
pilgrimage	ælþeodignes[5]
strange	ælþeodig

Scandinavian	*O. E.*
root	wyrt-truma[6]

[1] Chaucer uses this word: That with a spere was *thirled* his brest boon. *Knight's Tale*, 1852.

[2] Ðone cwild ðe se suðerna wind *acenð*: the mortality that the southern wind *generates*.

[3] On-orðian translates *inspirare*; but cf. Gen. ii. 7: God on-ableow (*inspiravit*) on his ansine lifes orðunge. Oroð = *breath*.

[4] Cf. Mark xiii. 28: His twig bið mearu (*ramus tener*).

[5] Cf. Ps. cxviii. 54: On stowe *elðeodigsysse* minre *in loco* peregrinationis *meae*. Ælþeodig = *of another people*.

[6] Cf. the O. E. and Icel. versions of Mt. iii. 10: Ys seo æx to þæra treowa *wyrtruman* asett: Er öxin sett til *rotar* viðanna.

On the other hand, restriction is shewn in the following:

French	*O. E.*	*Mod. E.*
licour	wæta	wet
virtue	mægen	main[1]
flower	blostm	blossom
cours	ryne	run
nature	ge-cynd	kind
corage	heorte	heart
special(-ly)	syndrig(-lice)	sundry

A third case is illustrated by *palmer*, where no English word was in use; here a new expression was given to the language.

Change in the Old English element.

But it is not only by the presence of foreign material that change in the vocabulary is marked; the native material is used otherwise than in the old speech. The interrogative forms acquire a force, which previously belonged only to the demonstratives, and are used as relatives; the original neuter, *that*, becomes indeclinable and takes the place of the old indeclinable, *þe*, which disappears: thus the correlative *whan that* (v. 1 and *whan* v. 5)...*thanne* (v. 12) is used instead of the older *þonne* (*þe*)...*þonne*, and a new group of relatives is developed. *With* now does the work of *mid* (cf. Ger. *mit*), which is consequently lost; *with* his showres, *with* his breethe, *with* open eye, would all have taken *mid*[2]. The verb *longen* has suffered a change, which finds a parallel in the case of *like*; formerly it meant *to cause desire in* the person (acc.), in the passage it means *to have desire*, and the person is in the nominative; impersonal verbs were disappearing. In *every* a strengthened form of *each* (æfre

[1] Cf. Him *mægen* of eode *virtue* had gone out of him, Mk. v. 30.

[2] For the substitution of *with* for *mid* cf. the old rendering in Exod. xxi. 6: þirlian eare *mid* æle, and Chaucer's line quoted above under *þirlian*; and for the loss of distinction which is involved note the two words in the following: He geseah ænne wer *wiþ* fyrde standan *mid* atogenum swurde *vidit virum stantem* contra se, evaginatum tenentem gladium. Jos. v. 13.

ælc) has been developed; *æghwilc*, which had the sense of *every*, has been lost, and *each* is used differently from the old *ælc*[1].

If now we turn to the grammar we shall find there is little to distinguish it from that of modern English. Among nouns, one form is established in the genitive; for the old fem. *scīr*, gen. *scīr-e*, now has gen. *schir-es*: it is the same with the plural, where the old neuter *land*, pl. *land*, now has pl. *lond-es*, just the same as *fowl-es* (old *fugol-as*), and the old weak *halg-an* is now *halw-es*; foreign words, too, have the same inflexion. The adjective, when not used with a demonstrative, is uninflected in the singular; *swich*, *which*, *every*, *al*, *open* have nothing to distinguish them as oblique cases; even though used with *the*, *holy* and *blisful* are equally undistinguished: and the definite article is *the* throughout. All this points to modern English. There are, however, traces of the past; the *-es* of the genitive and of the plural is still a distinct syllable more often than at present; though even here it may be noted that *corages* would still be a word of three syllables, and that *palmers* is already a dissyllable. But it is under the form of a final *e* that the old inflections are found chiefly to be linked to the language of Chaucer. How many originally different terminations are gathered under this one head may be shewn by comparing the forms of the passage with old English equivalents:

Grammatical forms.

Nouns.

O. E.		*Chaucer*
sunn-e (*wk. fem.*)		sonne
[rot]-e	*dat.*	root-e
bræð-e	*dat.*	breeth-e
holt-e	*dat.*	holt-e
hæð-e	*dat.*	heeth-e
eag-an	*dat.*	ey-e
end-e	*dat.*	ende

[1] Cf. Mt. xii. 25, in several versions: *Ælc* hus, West-Saxon: *æghwilc* hus, Rushworth Gloss: *every* house A.V., all translating *omnis domus*.

Adjectives and Pronouns.

O. E.		*Chaucer.*
swot-e		swoot-e
smal-e		smal-e
.....	*pl.*	straung-e
cuð-e		kouth-e
seoc-e		seek-e
swet-e, *sing.*		sweete
seo geong-e (*wk. fem. nom.*)		þe yong-e
his healf-an (*wk. masc. acc.*)		his half-e
hier-a (*gen. pl.*)		her-e

How near this final *e* was to being lost is suggested by its omission in the weak *holy* and *blisful*, and in the plural *sondry*; and how near Chaucer's forms were to the modern is shewn by noting how much depended upon so slender a thread as the unaccented final *e*.

Change in the form of words.

With regard to the verbal forms it will be noticed that the plural ending of the present, *-en*, is for the most part kept; but its uncertain tenure seems suggested by *weind-e*; and the infinitive is in like case, for both *seek-en* and *seek-e* occur, and that, too, as representing the old *to secanne*. The same uncertainty is seen with the strong participles *i-ronne* (= ge-runnen) and *holpen*.

Lastly, change in the form of the old material may be illustrated by the following comparisons:

Chaucer	*Old English*	*Chaucer*	*Old English*
schowres	scūras	night	niht
schires	scīre	eye	ēage
drought	drūgoþ	halwes	hālgan
swich	swilc	sondry	syndrig
which	hwilc	-ly (*adv. suffix*)	-līce
i-ronne	ge-runnen	holy	hālig
fowles	fugolas		

It will be seen, then, even from this brief notice of the specimen taken, that cultivated English of the latter half of the 14th century presents at least two important contrasts with

cultivated English of the first half of the 11th. The latter had been kept almost free from the intrusion of foreign words, the former has them in such considerable numbers as to shew that their entrance had become comparatively easy: in the one continuous cultivation had preserved grammatical forms, the other had reached the dignity of a literary speech after centuries of neglect, during which grammatical forms had been lost beyond recovery. In the language of Chaucer, then, is foreshadowed the mixed vocabulary and the simple grammar of Modern English.

CHAPTER XII.

Important events in the 15th century: geographical discoveries, the fall of Constantinople, the invention of printing—specimens of 15th century English, Occleve's *Governail of Princes*, Pecock's *Repressor*, Malory's *Morte Darthur*—effects of printing—classical learning in England in the 16th century—influence of modern languages on English in the 16th century—Ascham's criticism of English—Wilson on English style—excessive use of foreign words—the locality of the best English—description of the Court—satires on the abuses in language—masque by Sidney—Shakspere's *Love's Labour's Lost*—Spenser's attempt to revive obsolete words—style in English writers—Euphuism—its popularity—extract from *Euphues*—Drayton on Euphuism—good English in the 16th century—Lord Berners' translation of Froissart's Chronicle—Tyndal's translation of the New Testament—Sir T. More's *Confutacion of Tyndal*—North's *Plutarch*—Sidney's *Apologie for Poetrie*.

1. In the works of Chaucer the material whose preparation we have tried to trace was used by a 'maker,' who was able to shew its capabilities; and English in the hands of Chaucer proved as well fitted to be the language of literature that should rank with the highest, as another vulgar tongue, Italian, had done in the hands of Dante. There were to be many years of further preparation before the language of England was used by writers whose works were to give them a place in English literature by the side of Chaucer; of that preparation we may now try to get some idea.

Important events in the 15th century.

2. The 15th century by no means carried on the intellectual activity of the 14th. The wars with France, and the civil wars which followed them, were not favourable to literary cultivation; religious freedom was suppressed; and there were no successors

to fill the places of Chaucer and Wiclif. But though during a great part of it there might be little at home to further the development of the language, there were events occurring outside England that were to have most important consequences for English. With the bolder navigation which the use of the compass made possible came, on the one side, the discovery of the new route to the East by the Cape of Good Hope, which in the end gave to western countries the commercial position once belonging to the Italian cities; on the other, the discovery of America. Constantinople was taken by the Turks, and its fall was followed by the migration westwards of Greek scholars, at whose coming the study of the Greek classics revived. Printing was invented; and for times in which new conceptions of the material world were quickening intellectual life, in which the power to express ideas was amplified by the opening up of new stores of language, a fit means was provided for making the new conditions far-reaching in their effects. How soon the old order gave place to new may be felt on contrasting writings of the 15th century with those of the 16th; the former are medieval, the latter are modern. To illustrate this point so far as it relates to the earlier period, and to gain at the same time some idea of the course followed by the language before it came under the influences referred to above, we may take two specimens from works that belong to the age of manuscripts, and a third which may represent the transition from that age to the age of printing.

Geographical discovery.

Fall of Constantinople.

Invention of printing.

3. At the end of the last chapter the condition of the language in the last years of the 14th century was briefly illustrated by means of a few lines from Chaucer; the verses in which his death is lamented by one who had known him, and who speaks of him as 'my maister dere' will furnish an example of early 15th century English. From *The Governail of Princes*

Specimens of 15th century English: Occleve;

by Occleve (c. 1370—c. 1454) are taken the following lines (c. 1420):

O maister dere and fader reverent,
My maister Chaucer, floure of eloquence,
Mirrour of fructuous entendement,
O universal fader in science,
Allas! that thou thyne excellent prudence
In thy bedde mortalle myghtest not bequeth[e].
What eyled dethe, allas! why wold he sle the?
. . . . . .
Allas! my worthy maister honorable,
This londes verray tresour and richesse,
Dethe by thy dethe hath harme irreperable
Unto us done; hir vengeable duresse
Dispoiled hath this londe of the swetnesse
Of Rhetoryke fro us; to Tullius
Was never man so like amonges us.

Also who was hyer in philosofye
To Aristotle in our tunge but thow?
The steppes of Virgile in poysye
Thou folwedest eke, men wote wele ynow.
That combreworld that thee my maister slow
Wolde I slayne were! dethe was to hastyfe
To renne on the and reve the thy lyfe.
. . . . . .
She myght han taryed hir vengeance a while,
Til that som man hade egalle to the be.
Nay, lete be that! she knewe wele that this yle
May never man forth brynge like to the,
And hir office nedes do mote she;
God bade hir so, I truste as for the beste,
O maister, maister, god thy soule reste.

As regards vocabulary the specimen is perhaps too short to allow of a general conclusion being drawn; but it may be noted that the French element, especially in the first two verses, is so considerable as to suggest that any change taking place was in the direction of using foreign words more freely.

As regards the grammatical forms the passage seems to shew a further step in the way of simplification. In the extract

from Chaucer the final *e*'s were found to be notable as preserving the old grammatical tradition; but here their character is changed, and in many instances they do not point back to older terminations. Thus *dethe* is both nominative and dative, but Chaucer has it only in the latter case; the adjectives and participles *like*, *hastyfe*, *done*, *slayne* are all properly without the final *e* in Chaucer; and the same may be said of the strong past tenses *knewe*, *mote*, *bade*; the imperative *lete be* is *lat be* in the earlier writer. The final *e* occurs, too, without the justification of an earlier termination in *eke*, *wele*, the *eek* and *wel* of Chaucer. On the other hand the *e* is correctly written, and pronounced, in *soule* (acc.), *wote* (pl.), *reste* (subj. pr.), *were* (subj. p.), *renne*, *reve*, *brynge* (infins), and in *beste* (dat.). In *tunge* the *e* might seem, as in Chaucer, to be the remnant of the old *-an*, but it does not, as in Chaucer, form a syllable; in *bequeth*, where it should appear, and where the rime calls for its pronunciation, it is not written; while in *hastyfe*, where it is pronounced, it is grammatically incorrect. These instances seem to shew that the significance of the older forms was becoming less and less appreciated, and thus the way was prepared for their disappearance. The point may further be illustrated by comparing *men wote* with Chaucer's *we witen*; in the latter the old distinction between the vowels of sing. and pl. is preserved, in the former the modern practice is reached, which uses the vowel of the singular throughout.

The date of the next passage is about 1450. It is from *The Repressor of over much blaming of the clergy*, by Reginald Pecock (c. 1395—c. 1460): Pecock;

Where is it groundid expresseli in scripture, þat men mowe lete schaue her berdis? and how dare þei so lete, siþen it can not be founde expresseli in holi scripture þat þei ou3ten so lete, and namelich siþen it is founde in holi scripture þat men leten her berdis growe wiþoute schering or schauyng, and also siþen it was þe oolde usage þoru3 al þe world in cristendom? where is it in holi scripture groundid bi wey of comendyng or

of allowaunce þat men schulden or miȝten lauȝwe? For to þe contrarie is euydence in holi scripture, Mat. v°. c., where it is seid þus: *Blessid ben þei þat moornen, for þei schulen be counfortid;* and also, Gen. xviij°. c. sara þe wijf of Abraham was punyschid, for þat sche lauȝed behinde þe dore of þe tabernacle. where is it also groundid in holi scripture þat men myȝten alloweabli or schulden pleie in word bi bourding, or in deede by rennyng or leping or schuting, or bi sitting at þe merels, or bi casting of coitis? and ȝit ech of þese deedis mowe be doon & ben doon ful vertuoseli & merytorili.

In the case of the noun and the adjective there is not much that needs to be referred to the old grammar for its explanation; the older usage, however, is found in the plurals of nouns, where the suffix is still a syllable, *berd-is*, *deed-is*; *dor*e, as in Chaucer, still shews a trace of the old dative (*dur*-a), *deede* keeps the old *e* of the oblique cases, which made its way later into the nominative; and the weak declension of the adjective seems to be preserved in *þe oold*-e *usage.* Otherwise there is nothing that would appear strange to a modern reader. In the pronouns, *her* (the old *hiera*) is still used for the gen. pl. to the nominative *þei*; but the modern *þes*-e is substituted for old *þās.* It is in the verbs only that the grammar is conservative. Thus the infinitive retains its termination in the modified form *-e*, *lete*, *growe*, *lauȝwe*, *pleie*; the pres. indic. pl. has the old E. Midland *-en*, *moorn*-en, *be*-n; the past pl. also keeps its termination in *let*-en, *ouȝt*-en, *miȝt*-en, *schuld*-en, and in the pret. pres. *schul*-en, *mow*-en. Moreover the distinction of vowel between sing. and pl. is maintained in *schul*-en (*schal*, sing.) and *mowe* (*mai*, sing.). But even in the verb the modern forms are coming into use; the sing., *dare*, has displaced the old pl. *durron*, the strong *lowgh* of Chaucer gives way to the weak *lauȝ*-ed, and the double form of the p. part. of strong verbs is very nearly reached in *found*-e alongside *doon.* In Pecock we are still, however, nearer to Chaucer than to Shakspere.

The third specimen brings us to the age of printing. It is from *Le Morte Darthur*, which was completed by its author, Sir Thomas Malory, in 1469, and was printed by Caxton in 1485: Sir Thomas Malory.

And whan kynge Arthur sawe hym, thenne he said, 'welcome, my systers sone; I wende thou haddest ben dede, and now I see the on lyue, moche am I beholdynge unto almyghty Jhesu. O fayre neuewe, what ben these ladyes that hydder be come with you.' 'Sir,' said Sir Gawayne, 'alle these ben ladyes for whome I haue foughten whenne I was man lyuynge, and alle these are tho, that I did batail for in ryghteous quarel, and god hath gyuen hem that grace at their grete prayer, by cause I dyd bataille for hem, that they shold brynge me hydder unto yow; thus moche hath god gyuen me leue for to warne yow of youre dethe, for and ye fyghte as to morne with syre Mordred, as ye bothe haue assygned, doubte ye not, ye must be slayne; and for the grete grace and goodenes that almyghty Jhesu hath unto yow, and for pyte of yow and many more other good men there shalle be slayne, God hath sente me to yow of his specyal grace to gyue yow warnynge, that in no wyse ye do bataille as to morne, but that ye take a treatyce for a moneth day and profer yow, so as to morne to be putte in a delaye.'... Thenne syr Gawayne and al the laydyes vaynnysshed....Than the kyng comaunded syr Lucan de butlere and his broder syr Bedwere with two bysshoppes with hem, and charged theym, in ony wyse and they myght, take a traytyse for a monthe day wyth Syr mordred.

It would seem from this passage that at the beginning of the age of printing the modern form of grammar is practically reached. In the case of many inflections the consciousness of their grammatical value, which was felt in Chaucer's time, was no longer present, and the old system, as far as they were concerned, was dead; in the case of others they are reduced almost, if not quite, to their modern forms. How little importance attaches to distinctions which once were significant may

be seen from the following examples: *kynge* and *kyng* for the nominative, *batail* and *bataille* for the accusative, *dede* the nominative of the strong adjective, *whome* where even the oldest English is *hwam*, *sawe* the p. indic. sing. of a strong verb, *slayne*, *sente* p. parts. in the singular; and alongside the old form *alle* (pl.) occurs *al the laydyes*. Again, though *wende* seems to keep the full suffix *-de* of the weak verbs, it appears as an exception; *sayd*, *dyd*, *shold* (pl.), *must* (pl.), *charged*, &c. shew the modern contraction. Other instances that shew the modern forms prevailing are the plural verbs *be*, *haue*, *do*, *take*, *profer*, *fyghte* as against the single plural in *n*, *ben*. Further *shalle* as a plural marks the rejection of the old *shul-en* (O. E. *sculon*). In the pronouns, too, while *tho* (O. E. þā), the true plural of *that*, and *hem* (dat. pl. of *he*) point to the past, yet the modern use is found in *these*, *they*, *their* and *them*. These details will be sufficient to suggest the character of the grammar in the latter part of the 15th century, and to shew that in the earliest printed books there is not a much fuller system of inflections than in the latest.

Effects of printing.

4. With the establishment of the printing-press in England came a new era for the language. On the one hand limitations were removed, which had necessarily existed when the reproduction of any work depended upon the slow labours of the scribe. Printing made it easy to give to the whole country the works of the great writers, and this made it possible for all parts of England to become familiar with their language. It consequently tended to subordinate all local forms of speech to the one form that was used in the literature; and so, for our purpose, it is no longer necessary, as was the case for the times before Chaucer, to consider the different forms of English to be found in different localities; the language of literature becomes the representative English language. On the other hand, it introduced fixity where before change had had free play. While in the time of MSS. writing was to a great extent phonetic, with

printing came the stereotyping of forms; the form of the printed word no longer varied, as that of the written one had done, to suit the variation of pronunciation which was due to difference either of place or time. So printed works do not call for notice, as do the MSS., as shewing the phonetic condition of the language. But while change in respect both to the grammatical system and to the written forms of words was drawing near to its end, the change which affected the vocabulary was becoming more and more marked. As well from intercourse with books, both in ancient and in modern tongues, as from intercourse with men of other nations, Englishmen became acquainted with fresh stores of language material, and from them drew largely. On these fresh acquisitions and the use made of them, not always wisely, a few words may now be said.

Classical learning in England in the 16th century.

5. Early in the 16th century interest in classical learning, which had been awakened and maintained in Italy by the Greek scholars who journeyed westwards in the troublous times which preceded and followed the fall of Constantinople, was shewing evidence of its presence in England. Wolsey, of whom Erasmus, himself for a time Professor of Greek at Cambridge, said that 'he recalled to his country the three learned languages, without which all learning is lame,' in the college which he founded at Oxford made special provision for the teaching of the two classic tongues and established in the University a professorship of Greek. But the intimate connection of the new learning with the great religious struggle of Henry VIII's reign, though giving a special interest to the history of that learning, was not favourable to its general advancement; and when the Reformers, setting up the Scriptures as the one authority for the decision of religious questions, felt the importance of studying the New Testament in Greek, many of the followers of the old faith set their faces as well against the new opinions, as against the new learning from which those opinions gained support. The University in which Erasmus had taught went so far as

to proscribe his Greek Testament, and threatened with severe fine any of its members found with that book in their possession. When the country had moved somewhat further from Rome, matters, indeed, mended; and in the same University Greek was taught by scholars of some eminence, Smith and Cheke, the latter the first Regius Professor (1540). But though the king might be inclined to favour learning, his reign had been too disturbed to permit it to flourish; and it is not surprising to find that when more settled times were reached under his successor, a review of the conditions prevailing should give little satisfaction to scholars. Ascham, in a letter dated 1550, laments the ruin of grammar schools; and in a sermon preached the same year at Cambridge the condition of the University is thus described: 'Formerly there were in houses belonging to the University of Cambridge, 200 students of divinity, many very well learned, which be now all clean gone home, and many young toward scholars and old fatherly doctors not one of them left. 100 also of another sort, that, having rich friends, and being beneficed men, did live of themselves in hostels and inns, be gone away or else fain to creep into colleges and put poor men from bare livings. These both be all gone, and a small number of poor, godly, diligent students, now remaining only in colleges, be not able to tarry and continue their studies for lack of exhibition and help.' It was not till late in Elizabeth's reign that the Universities recovered, but still the 16th century throughout offers individual instances of learned men. To names already mentioned may be added those of Cranmer, Ridley, Pole, Colet, the founder of St Paul's School, Lilly, its first master, Sir Thomas More, Roger Ascham; and Henry and his children were all learned. It was the age, too, of learned ladies; Lady Jane Grey read Plato in the original; and of Queen Elizabeth Ascham says, 'She readeth here now at Windsore more Greeke every day, than some Prebendaries of this Church doth read Latin in a whole weeke.'[1]

[1] In Prof. Raleigh's Introduction to *The Book of the Courtier* (in the

6. It was not only the classical languages that were influencing English. Intercourse with foreign countries gave occasion to the introduction of foreign words and idioms, and English writers, who now for the first time were observing their own language critically, can tell of the results. The following passage from the preface to Ascham's *Toxophilus* (1545) is of interest, not only as having a bearing upon the point under consideration, but as giving at the same time both an appreciation[1] of English in the middle of the 16th century by a contemporary, and a specimen of its use by a scholar whose work was intended to be a model of style:

Influence of modern languages on English in the 16th century.

'If any man woulde blame me, eyther for takynge such a matter in hande, or els for writing it in the Englyshe tongue, this answere I may make hym, that whan the beste of the realme thinke it honest for them to use, I one of the meanest sorte, ought not to suppose it vile for me to write: And though to haue written it in an other tonge, had bene bothe more profitable for my study, and also more honest for my name, yet I can thinke my labour wel bestowed, yf with a little hyndraunce of my profyt and name, maye come any fourtheraunce, to the pleasure or commoditie, of the gentlemen and yeomen of Englande, for whose sake I tooke this matter in hande. And as for y^e^ Latin or greke tonge, euery thing is so excellently done in them, that none can do better: In the Englysh tonge contrary, euery thinge in a maner so meanly, bothe for the matter and handelynge, that no man can do worse. For therein the

Ascham's criticism of English.

series of Tudor Translations) the student will find the neo-classic influence on language treated in a very interesting manner.

[1] Not the least notable point in this passage is the apology for the use of English, which is made by a writer, who was not dead when Shakspere was born. As a somewhat parallel case might be quoted the apology by Dante for using Italian in his *Convito*, when the capabilities of the language were so soon to be shewn in the *Divine Comedy*.

least learned for the moste parte, haue ben alwayes most redye to wryte. And they whiche had leaste hope in latin, haue bene most boulde in englyshe: when surelye every man that is moste ready to taulke, is not moost able to wryte. He that wyll wryte well in any tongue, muste folowe thys council of Aristotle, to speake as the comon people do, to thinke as wise men do. Many English writers haue not done so, but usinge straunge wordes as latin, french and Italian, do make all thinges darke and harde. Ones I communed with a man whiche reasoned the englyshe tongue to be enryched and encreased therby, sayinge: Who wyll not prayse that feaste, where a man shall drinke at a diner, bothe wyne, ale and beere? Truely quod I, they be all good, euery one taken by hym selfe alone, but if you putte Malmesye and sacke, read wyne and white, ale and beere, and al in one pot, you shall make a drynke, neyther easie to be knowen, nor yet holsom for the body. Cicero in following Isocrates, Plato and Demosthenes, increased the latine tongue after an other sorte.'

Wilson on English style.

7. Not long after this was written appeared Wilson's *Arte of Rhetorike* (1553). From it we may see that the requisites for a good style were already recognized, and by some writers, in the judgement of its author, were already acquired: 'When we have learned usuall and accustomable words to set forth our meanynge, we ought to join them together in apte order, that the eare maie delite in hearynge the harmonie[1]. I know some Englishemen, that in this poinct have such a gifte in the Englishe as fewe in Latine have the like; and therefore delite the wise and Learned so muche with their pleasant composition, that many rejoice when they maie heare such and thinke

[1] The definition of style implied in these words is practically the same as that given by Swift, 'proper words, in proper places, make the true definition of a style.'

much learnyng is got when thei maie talke with them.' But though Wilson can speak more favourably of English composition than Ascham had done, yet both equally condemn the excessive use of foreign words by injudicious writers. So Wilson tells us that, 'Some seke so far for outlandishe English, that they forget altogether their mother's language—and yet these fine English clerks will saie they speke in their mother tongue, if a man should charge them for counterfeyting the king's English. He that cometh lately out of France, will talke Frenche Englishe and never blush at the matter. Another choppes in with English Italianated, and applieth the Italian phrase to our English speaking...I know them that thinke Rhetorike to stand wholie upon darke wordes; and he that can catche an ynkehorne term by the tail, hym they compt to be a fine Englishman, and good rhetorician.' That the number of those who could 'chop in with English Italianated' was likely to increase, may be inferred from a comment made later[1] by Ascham upon books 'of late translated out of Italian into English and sold in every shop in London': 'There be moe of those ungratious books set out in printe within these fewe monethes, than have been seene in England many score yeares before.' And that the abuses, against which both Ascham and Wilson had protested, continued, may be seen from the occurrence of a like protest in Puttenham's *Art of Poesie*, published in 1589, 'We finde in our English writers many wordes and speaches amendable; and ye shall see in some many inkhorne termes so ill affected, brought in by men of learnyng, as preachers and schoolemasters: and many straunge termes of other languages, by secretaries and marchaunts and travailours, and many darke wordes, and not usual nor well-sounding, though they be daily spoken in court.'

Excessive use of foreign words.

8. It is, perhaps, the last words of the passage that

[1] In the *Scholemaster*, published 1570.

suggest the most serious danger to the language; for, as may be seen by another quotation from the same writer, it was particularly in the Court that the best English was to be sought: 'This part (language) in our maker or Poet must be heedyly looked unto, that it be naturall, pure, and the most usuall of all his countrey: and for the same purpose rather that which is spoken in the kings Court, or in the good townes and cities within the land, then in the marches and frontiers, or in port townes, where straungers haunt for traffike sake, or yet in Universities where schollers use much peevish affectation of words out of the primative languages, or finally, in any uplandish village or corner of a Realme, where is no resort but of poore rusticall or uncivill people...neither shall he take the termes of Northernmen, such as they use in dayly talke, whether they be noblemen or gentlemen, or of their best clarkes all is a matter: nor in effect any speach used beyond the river of Trent, though no man can deny but that theirs is the purer English Saxon at this day, yet it is not so Courtly nor so currant as our Southerne English is, no more is the far Westerne man's speach: ye shall therefore take the usuall speach of the Court, and that of London and the shires lying about London within LX. myles, and not much above. I say not this but that in every shyre of England there be gentlemen and others that speake but specialy write as good southerne as we of Middlesex or Surrey do, but not the common people of euery shire.' But that some even of the language spoken in Court should incur the critic's censure is not remarkable, if the foreign influences, that in Elizabeth's time were brought to bear upon it, be remembered. Which they were likely to be may be learned from Ascham, who tells not only of the queen's classical attainments, but also of 'her perfect readines in Italian, French, and Spanish'; and that such an example produced the effect that might be expected, appears from the description given of the court by Harrison, who wrote a few years before the publication

The locality of the best English.

of Puttenham's work: 'This further is not to be omitted, to the singular commendation of both sorts and sexes of our courtiers here in England, that there are very few of them which have not the use and skill of sundry speeches, besides an excellent veine of writing beforetime not regarded. Truly it is a rare thing with us now to heare of a courtier which hath but his own language. And to say how many gentlewomen and ladies there are that beside sound knowledge of the Greek and Latin tongues, are thereto no less skilful in Spanish, Italian, and French, or in some one of them, it resteth not in me; sith I am persuaded that, as the noblemen and gentlemen do surmount in this behalf, so these come very little or nothing at all behind them for their parts.' And a little further on, speaking of the ancient ladies of the Court, he says, 'Some spend their time in continual reading either of the Holy Scriptures, or histories of our own or foreign nations about us, and divers in writing volumes of their own, or translating of other men's into our English and Latin tongues. Finally to avoid idleness such order is taken that every office hath either a Bible, or the book of the Acts and Monuments of the Church of England, or both, besides some histories or chronicles, lying therein, for the exercise of such as come unto the same; whereby the stranger that entereth into the court of England upon the sudden shall rather imagine himself to come into some public school of the universities, than into a prince's palace, if you confer the same with those of other nations.' If this be a fair description of the Court, it is small wonder if there, as in other less favoured places, words were 'dayly spoken,' to which a critic like Puttenham might object.

Description of the Court.

9. That alongside a judicious freedom in the adoption of foreign words, which should enrich the language, was to be found a license that threatened it with corruption, may be better realized perhaps by turning to the pictures, or rather caricatures, drawn by great

Satires on the abuses in language.

artists in language, than by reading the censures of critics. Sidney and Shakspere both directed their satire against the affectations of the time. The critic had complained of the 'inkhorne termes' of the schoolmasters, and the satirists bring the offenders on the stage. In a masque by Sidney, presented before the queen, Rombus, a village schoolmaster, is introduced speaking thus, after the queen is supposed to have parted by her presence a contest between two shepherds for the affections of the Lady of the May: 'Now the thunder-thumping Iove transfused his dotes into your excellent formositie, which have with your resplendent beames thus segregated the enmity of these rurall animals: I am, *Potentissima Diva*, a schoolmaster, that is to say a Pedagogue, one not a little versed in disciplinating of the juvenall frie, wherein (to my laud I speak it) I use such geometrical proportions as neither wanted man suetude nor correction... The puritie of the veritie is that a certaine *Pulchra puella*, elected and constituted by the integrated determination of all this topographicall region as the soverayne Ladie of this Dame Maies month, hath been *quodadmodo* hunted, as you would say, pursued by two, a brace, a couple, a cast of young men, to whom the crafty coward Cupid had, *inquam*, delivered his dire-dolorous dart.' In his complaint Puttenham joins preachers and schoolmasters, and inveighs also against travellers for their use of strange words.

Masque by Sidney.

In *Love's Labour's Lost* Shakspere presents to us all three classes, and an extract from a scene in which appear Holofernes, the schoolmaster, Sir Nathaniel, the curate, and Don Armado[1], the Spanish knight, will illustrate the comment of the critic:

Shakspere's *Love's Labour's Lost*.

[1] Don Armado is thus spoken of by the king:

> Our court you know is haunted
> With a refined traveller of Spain,
> A man in all the world's new fashions planted,
> That hath a mint of phrases in his brain.

Hol. *Satis quod sufficit.*

Nath. I praise God for you, sir: your reasons at dinner have been sharp and sententious; pleasant without scurrility, witty without affection, audacious without impudency, learned without opinion, and strange without heresy. I did converse this *quondam* day with a companion of the king's, who is intituled, nominated, or called, Don Adriano de Armado.

Hol. *Novi hominem tanquam te*: his humour is lofty, his discourse peremptory, his tongue filed, his eye ambitious, his gait majestical, and his general behaviour vain, ridiculous, and thrasonical. He is too picked, too spruce, too affected, too odd, as it were, too peregrinate as I may call it.

Nath. A most singular and choice epithet.

(*Takes out his table-book.*)

Hol. He draweth out the thread of his verbosity finer than the staple of his argument. I abhor such fanatical phantasms, such insociable and point-devise companions; such rackers of orthography, as to speak dout, fine, when he should say, doubt;...neighbour *vocatur* nebour; neigh abbreviated ne. This is abhominable (which he would call abominable): it insinuateth me of insanie: *ne intelligis, domine?* to make frantic, lunatic.

Nath. *Laus Deo, bone intelligo.*

Hol. *Bone?—bone*, for *bene*: Priscian a little scratched; 'twill serve.

Enter ARMADO.

Arm. (*to Hol.*) Monsieur, are you not lettered?...Do you not educate youth at the charge-house on the top of the mountain?

Hol. Or *mons*, the hill...I do, sans question.

Arm. Sir, it is the king's most sweet pleasure and affection, to congratulate the princess at her pavilion in the posteriors of this day; which the rude multitude call the afternoon.

Hol. The posterior of the day, most generous sir, is liable, congruent, and measurable for the afternoon: the word is well culled, chose: sweet, and apt, I do assure you, sir, I do assure.

Arm. Sir, the king is a noble gentleman; and my familiar, I do assure you, very good friend:—for what is inward between us, let it pass:—I do beseech thee, remember thy courtesy; I beseech thee, apparel thy head:—and among other importunate and most serious designs,—and of great import indeed, too,—but let that pass:—for I must tell thee, it will please his grace sometime to lean upon my poor shoulder, and with his royal finger thus dally with my excrement, with my mustachio; but sweet

And Biron says of him:

> Armado is a most illustrious wight,
> A man of fire-new words, fashion's own knight.

heart, let that pass. By the world, I recount no fable: some certain special honour it pleaseth his greatness to impart to Armado, a soldier, a man of travel, that hath seen the world; but let that pass.—The very all of all is,—but, sweet heart, I do implore secrecy,—that the king would have me present the princess with some delightful ostentation, or show, or pageant, or article, or fire-work. Now, understanding that the curate and your sweet self are good at such eruptions, and sudden breaking out of mirth, as it were, I have acquainted you withal, to the end to crave your assistance[1].

Fortunately, as the names of the two writers just quoted may remind us, there were opponents of license strong enough to prevent the disastrous results, which, if unchecked, it would have caused, and the language was not left at the mercy of those, who, according to Moth's description, 'had been at a great feast of languages, and stolen the scraps,' or who, as Costard expressed it, 'had lived long on the alms-basket of words.'

Spenser's attempt to revive obsolete words.

10. But it was not only against new and foreign words, rashly introduced by the injudicious, that the verdict was given by 'use and custome,' those 'onely umpiers of speach' as Puttenham calls them. The influence of so great a writer as Spenser was unable either to obtain a more favourable judgement for the old and native words, which he attempted to recover from the neglect into which they had been allowed to fall, or to secure general acceptance for words which had only a local currency. In the letter to Gabriel Harvey, prefixed to *The Shepheard's Calendar* and dated 1579, Spenser's friend, Edward Kirke, speaks of English very much as Ascham had done before; those who had found it defective, he says, 'patched

[1] *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act v. sc. i. The whole play may serve to illustrate the difference between the use and the abuse of their opportunities by those who, to use Moth's words in the same scene, 'had been at a great feast of languages.' As a testimony to the justness of the ridicule aimed in the passage at the practice of introducing Latin, may be quoted the remark put into the mouth of a character in Chapman's *An humerous dayes mirth*, (published 1599): 'Now must I say, *Lupus est in fabula*, for these latine ends are part of a gentleman and a good scholler.'

up the holes with peces and rags of other languages, borrowing here of the French, there of the Italian, every where of the Latine; not weighing how il those tongues accorde with themselves, but much worse with ours: so now they have made our English tongue a gallimaufray, or hodgepodge of al other speches.' Holding such a view he naturally was of opinion that 'it is one special prayse of many, which are dew to this Poete, that he hath laboured to restore, as to theyr rightfull heritage, such good and naturall English words, as have ben long time out of use, and almost cleane disherited.' But Puttenham, when he laid down the rules: 'Our maker at these dayes shall not follow Piers plowman nor Gower nor Lydgate nor yet Chaucer, for their language is now out of use with us; neither shall he take the termes of Northern-men,' shewed as sound a judgement in matters of language as he did when he censured the inkhorn terms and other foreign eccentricities of those who threatened to make of English the 'gallimaufray' which Kirke had called it. That in each case the justice of the judgement received practical recognition from the writers who really represented the language of literature is seen, in the one by the ridicule poured on pedantry by Sydney and Shakspere, in the other by such a criticism of Spenser's style as is implied in Daniel's lines,

> Let others sing of knights and Palladines
> In aged accents, and untimely words;

or by that directly expressed in Ben Jonson's dictum, 'Spenser in affecting the ancients writ no language.' As a result, then, the language neither restored the words that it had already rejected, nor without discrimination admitted the new words, that many were ready to thrust upon it.

Style in English writers.

11. The writers who have so far been referred to as throwing light upon the condition of the vocabulary may remind us, that a point, which between the time of the Norman Conquest and that of Chaucer is not very prominent, becomes in the 16th century

of much more importance. As regarded its grammatical forms and the methods by which its vocabulary should be enlarged the character of the language was settled, and competition between different dialects was at an end, so that the general conditions under which all writers worked were the same, and the time had come, when the advance of the language was to be marked by the increasing skill with which it was used by the most competent. And from this point of view the language for the first time becomes an object of consideration by contemporaries. As we have seen, in the judgement of Ascham[1], who still had something of the scholar's contempt for a vulgar tongue as a medium of literature, English style was of the worst. But very soon after this opinion was published, as appears from a passage already quoted[2], a more favourable and juster estimate was formed by one who certainly understood the true principles on which style must rest. And the progress made by English in the estimation of great Englishmen may be shewn by contrasting with Ascham's verdict that of Sir Philip Sidney, 'For the uttering sweetly and properly the conceit of the mind, which is the ende of speeche, that English hath equally with any other tongue in the world.'[3]

Euphuism:

12. It was with style as with the vocabulary; in a time of superabundant vitality there were many deviations from the line which a perfect taste would have directed the users of the language to follow, and in some cases it was long before they were abandoned for the better path. The most notable instance was Euphuism. In 1581 Lyly published a romance in two parts, the first called *Euphues, The Anatomy of Wit*, the second, *Euphues and his England*. From the description which at the outset the author gives of a hero, who was to become the master of many scholars, some idea may be gained of the teaching of the new school: 'This

[1] § 6. [2] § 7. [3] *An Apologie for Poetrie.*

young gallaunt of more witte then wealth, and yet of more wealth then wisdome, seeing himselfe inferiour to none in pleasant conceits, though himselfe superiour to all his in honest conditions, insomuch that he thought himselfe so apt to all thinges that he gave himselfe almost to nothing but practising of those thinges commonly which are incident to these sharpe wittes, fine phrases, smooth quippes, merry tauntes, using jestinge without meane, and abusing mirth without measure.' The alliterative jingle and the antithetical see-saw, which are characteristics of the style, repel the modern reader, but earlier were accounted beauties, and Lyly's work became very popular. Webbe, in his *Discourse of English Poetrie* (1586), speaks of Lyly as one 'who hath deserved most high commendations, as he who hath stepped one step farther in eloquence, than any since he first began the witty discourse of his Euphues;...in my judgement I think the learned will yield him that verdict which Quintilian giveth of both the best orators, Demosthenes and Tully, that from the one nothing may be taken away, and to the other nothing may be added.' But it was at Court, amongst fashionable people that Euphuism met with the warmest reception. In the republication of six of Lyly's plays in 1632 it is said in the address 'To the Reader,' that 'Our nation are in his debt for a new English which hee taught them. Euphues and his England began first that language. All our ladies were then his schollers, and that beautie in court who could not parley Euphuisme, was as little regarded as shee which now there speaks not French.' The influence exerted by the book is so remarkable that an extract for the further illustration of its style may be given:

Its popularity.

Friend and fellow, as I am not ignorant of thy present weakenes, so I am not privie of the cause: and although I suspect many things, yet can I assure myself of no one thing. Therefore my good Euphues, for these doubts and dumpes of mine, either remove

Extract from Euphues.

the cause, or reveale it. Thou hast hetherto founde me a cheerefull companion in thy myrth, and nowe shalt thou finde me as carefull with thee in thy moane. If altogether thou maist not be cured, yet maist thou bee comforted. If ther be any thing that either by my friends may be procured, or by my life atteined, that may either heale thee in part, or helpe thee in all, I protest to thee by the name of a friend, that it shall rather be gotten with the losse of my body, then lost by getting a kingdome. Thou hast tried me, therefore trust me: thou hast trusted me in many things, therfore try me in this one thing. I never yet failed, and now I will not fainte. Be bolde to speake and blush not: thy sore is not so angry but I can salve it, the wound not so deepe but I can search it, thy grief not so great but I can ease it. If it be ripe it shalbe launced, if it be broken it shalbe tainted, be it never so desperat it shalbe cured. Rise therefore Euphues, and take heart at grasse, younger thou shalt never be: plucke up thy stomacke, if love it selfe have stoung thee, it shal not stifle thee. Though thou be enamoured of some Lady, thou shalt not be enchanted. They that begin to pine of a consumcion, without delay preserve themselves with cullisses, he that feeleth his stomack enflamed with heat, cooleth it eftsoones with conserves, delayes breede daungers, nothing so perilous as procrastination.

Prevalence of better taste.

13. Fortunately it came to be recognized that there were better guides than Lyly. In the year in which Webbe's eulogy was published died Sir Philip Sidney, who according to Drayton 'did first reduce Our tongue from Lillies writing then in use.' And though even in 1632 some, like Edward Blount, the bookseller, might still think the nation in Lyly's debt for a new English, a better judge in matters of language than such had already emphatically repudiated the obligation. Drayton (1627), in the lines on Sidney, continues, after those just quoted, with this description of 'Lillie's writing':

"Talking of Stones, Stars, Plants, of Fishes, Flyes,
Playing with words, and idle similies,
As th' English, Apes and very Zanies be
Of every thing, that they doe heare and see,
So imitating his ridiculous tricks,
They spake and writ, all like meere lunatiques."

And the existence of a taste which appreciated what was truly excellent is shewn at a rather earlier time in Peacham's *Compleat Gentleman* (1622). In the chapter, 'Of style, in speaking and writing,' the author says, 'Let your stile bee furnished with solid matter, and compact of the best, choice, and most familiar words; taking heed of speaking or writing such words as men shall rather admire than understand... To helpe yourself herein make choice of those authors in prose who speake the best and purest English. I would commend unto you the Life of Richard III., written by Sir T. Moor; the Arcadia of Sir P. Sidney; Sidney, whom Du Bartas makes one of the four columnes of our language; the essays and other pieces of the excellent master of eloquence, my Lord of St Albanes, who possesseth not only eloquence, but all good learning, as hereditary both by father and mother. You have then M. Hooker, his Ecclesiastical Policy; Henry IV. and Edward IV., well written by Sir J. Hayward; that first part of our kings by M. Samuel Daniel, and Sir Robert Cotton's short view of the long life of Henry III.'

Good and bad English in the 16th century.

14. So far it has been rather to such points as by their undue prominence most easily attract notice that attention has been directed. They bear witness to the influences that were at work upon the language, but shew them working without due control, and often with unhappy results. We may now turn to some more favourable specimens of English, in which, though the same influences may be traced, their operation was kept within due bounds.

15. To the first quarter of the 16th century belongs Lord Berners' translation of Froissart's Chronicle (1523), of which Marsh says, 'This translation is doubtless the best English prose style which had yet appeared, and, as a specimen of picturesque narrative, it is excelled by no production of later periods. It is executed with great skill, for while it is faithful to the text, it adheres so closely to the English idiom, that it has altogether the air of an original work.' The following specimen, if compared with the last passage that was used to illustrate the prose of the 15th century, will be felt to mark a very distinct advance. It gives an account of a very well-known scene at the battle of Crecy.

Lord Berners' translation of Froissart's Chronicle.

"The valyant kyng of Behaygne, called Charles of Luzenbourge, sonne to the noble emperour Henry of Luzenbourge, for all that he was nyghe blynde, whan he understode the order of the batayle, he sayde to them about hym, 'where is the lorde Charles my son?' his men sayde, 'sir, we can nat tell, we thynke he be fightynge;' than he sayde, 'sirs, ye are my men, my companyons and friends in this journey. I requyre you bring me so farre forwarde, that I may stryke one stroke with my swerde;' they sayde they wolde do his commaundement, and to the intent that they shulde nat lese hym in the prease, they tyed all their raynes of their bridelles eche to other and sette the kynge before, to accomplysshe his desyre, and so thei went on their ennemyes; the lorde Charles of Behaygne his sonne, who wrote hymselfe kynge of Behaygne and bare the armes, He came in good order to the batayle; but whanne he sawe that the matter went awrie on their partie, he departed, I can nat tell you whiche waye; the kynge his father was so farre forwarde, that he strake a stroke with his swerde, ye, and mo than foure, and fought valyantly. And so dyde his company, and they adventured themselfe so forwarde, that they were there all slayne, and the next day they were founde in the place about the kyng, and all their horses tyed eche to other."

The first impression that this passage will produce on one who reads it after looking at the extract from the *Morte Darthur* is, that the modern period of the language has begun. There are but three native words which need reference to an earlier time for their explanation: *mo* (O.E. *mā*), *lese* (O.E. *lēosan*) instead of *lose*, *strake* (O.E. *strāc*, p. tense of *strīcan*) instead of *struck*; *bare* instead of *bore* is too familiar to call for remark; the three French words *journey*, *partie*, *adventure* are not used quite as they are now; in the pronouns, *them* (to *them* about hym) still has the demonstrative force which is now transferred to *those*, *ye* and *you* still have their proper force as nominative and oblique cases, *each*, *other* still preserve the true construction, but with all these uses we are familiar from the Authorized Version; the uncertainty of the subjunctive (we thynke he *be* fightynge) has not been quite lost yet; and perhaps the only phrase that seems strange is, 'thei *went on* their ennemyes.' And not only is the material of the passage that of modern times, but the proportion of native to foreign words is such as may be found in the best writers to-day; there are about 240 words, and of these (excluding proper names) less than 30 are foreign. In the structure and arrangement of the clauses, also, it differs little from good modern prose; so near is it, that we may well claim for Lord Berners' translation that it should not fall under the sweeping condemnation passed by Ascham on English writers.

16. A very important specimen of the language, that belongs to about the same time as the preceding, is Tyndal's translation of the New Testament. Its importance will be seen, when it is noticed how closely our Authorized Version, which more than any other English book has been familiar to the speakers of English, agrees with it. By way of contrast to this agreement, and as illustrating the change that the language had undergone in the interval between 1389 and 1526, the translations of Wicklif and Tyndal are placed side by side.

Tyndal's translation of the New Testament.

Mark xv. 1.

WICKLIF.

1. And anon the morwe maad, the hiȝeste prestis, makinge counceil with the eldere men, and scribis, and al the counceil, byndinge Jhesu, ledden, and betooken to Pilat. 2. And Pilat axide him, Art thou kyng of Jewis? And he answeringe seith to him, Thou seyst. 3. And the hiȝeste prestis accusiden him in manye thinges. Pilat forsothe eftsoone axide him, seyinge, Thou answerest not ony thing? Seest thou, in how manye thinges thei accusen thee? 5. Forsothe Jhesus more no thing answerede, so that Pilat schulde wondre. 6. Forsoth by a solemne day he was wont to leeue to hem oon bounden, whom euere thei axiden. 7. Forsoth there was he that was seid Barabas, that was bounden with sleeris of men, and that hadde don manslauȝtre in sedicion. 8. And whanne the cumpany hadde stiȝe up, he began for to preye, as he euermore dide to hem. 9. Sothely Pilat answerede to hem, and seide, Wolen ȝe I leeue to ȝou the kyng of Jewis? 10. Sothli he wiste, that the hiȝeste prestis hadden taken him by enuye. 11. Forsothe the bischopis stireden the cumpenye of peple, that more he schulde leeue to hem Barabas.... 15. Sothli Pilate willinge for to do ynow to the peple, lefte to hem Barabas, and betook to hem Jhesu, smyten with scourgis, that he schulde be crucified.

TYNDAL.

And anon in the dawnynge heelde the hye prestes a counsell with the seniours, and the scribes, and also the whole congregacion, and bounde Jesus, and ledde hym awaye, and delyvered hym to Pilate. And Pilate axed, Arte thou the kynge off the Jewes? And he answered and sayde unto hym, Thou sayest yt. And the hye prestes accused hym off many thynges. Pylate axed hym agayne, sayinge, Answerest thou nothynge? Beholde, howe many thinges they lay unto thy charge. Jesus yett answered never a worde, so that Pilate merveled. Att the feast Pilate was wont to delyvre att their pleasure a presoner, whomsoever they wolde desyre. And there was one named Barrabas which laye bounde with them that caused insurrection, and in the insurrection committed murther. And the people called unto hym, and began to desyre off hym, according as he had ever done unto them. Pylate answered them, and sayd, Wyll ye that I loose unto you the kynge off the Jewes? For he knew, that the hye prestes had delyvered hym of envy. Butt the hye prestes had moved the people, that he should rather delyvre Barrabas unto them.... Pylate willinge to content the people, loused Barrabas, and delyvered Jesus scourged for to be crucified.

Two points worth noting with respect to Tyndal's version

are brought out by a comparison of these two renderings. One is its superiority as a translation; instead of reproducing, as the earlier does, the idioms of its original, it uses English idioms. The other is that it is a translation from the Greek, not from the Latin. The first point may be illustrated by the following instances:

WICKLIF.	LATIN.	TYNDAL.	GREEK.
v. 1. makinge, byndinge	pres. parts.	heelde, bounde	pres. parts.
2. Thou seyst	tu dicis	Thou sayest *yt*	Σὺ λέγεις
3. To accuse *in* many things	accusare *in* multis	To accuse of	verb with acc.
5. So that Pilat schulde wondre	ita ut miraretur Pilatus	So that Pilate merveled	ὥστε θαυμάζειν τὸν Πιλᾶτον
7. He that was said	qui dicebatur	One named	ὁ λεγόμενος
9. Wolen ȝe I leeue	vultis dimittam	Wyll ye *that* I loose	θέλετε ἀπολύσω
11. That more he schulde leeue to hem	ut magis dimitteret eis	That he should rather delyvre unto them	ἵνα μᾶλλον ἀπολύσῃ αὐτοῖς
15. To do ynou	satisfacere	To content	τὸ ἱκανὸν ποιῆσαι

As evidence of the second point might be taken:

6. By a solemne day	per diem festum	Att the feast	κατὰ ἑορτήν
15. smyten with scourgis	flagellis caesum	scourged	φραγελλώσας

But the most noteworthy point is brought out by comparison, not with an earlier, but with a later Version—the Authorized. In this, though several editions of the New Testament came out between 1526 and 1611, Tyndal's translation is preserved almost word for word; such is the case with the passage given above. Consequently in Tyndal's work we have a specimen of English which has been familiar to every generation of Englishmen since it was written, and has never ceased to be regarded by the best writers as among the noblest monuments of the language.

Sir Thomas More's *Confutacion of Tyndal.*

17. As an example of original prose may be taken a passage from the writings of Tyndal's antagonist, Sir Thomas More. It is from *The Confutacion of Tyndales aunswere* (1532), and contains a curious little piece of information about the adverbs of negation and affirmation. Commenting upon the verse, which in Tyndal's version runs, 'Arte thou a prophete? And he aunswered, no,' More, with a bitterness which did not lend dignity to his style, remarks:

'I woulde not here note by the way, that Tyndal here translateth *no* for *nay*, for it is but a trifle and mistaking of the englishe worde: sauing that ye shoulde see that he, whych in two so plain englishe wordes, and so commen as is *naye* and *no*, can not tell when he should take the tone, and when the tother, is not, for translating into englishe, a man very mete. For the use of those two wordes in aunswerring to a question is this. *No*[1] aunswereth the question framed by the affirmative. As for ensample, if a manne should aske Tindall hymselfe: 'ys an heretike mete to translate holy scripture into englishe?' Lo, to thys question, if he will aunswere trew englishe, he muste aunswere *nay* and not *no*. But and if the question be asked hym thus, lo: 'Is not an heretyque mete to translate holy scripture into english?' To this question, lo, if he wil aunswer true english, he must aunswere *no* & not *nay*. And a lyke difference is there betweene these two aduerbes, *ye* and *yes*. For if the questeion bee framed unto Tindall by thaffirmatiue in thys fashion: 'If an heretique falsely translate the newe testament into englishe, to make hys false heresyes seeme the worde of Godde, be hys bookes worthy to be burned?' To this question asked in thys wyse, yf he wil aunswere true englishe, he must aunswere *ye* and not *yes*. But nowe if the question be asked hym thus, lo, by the negatiue: 'If an heretike falsely translate the newe testament into englishe, to

[1] More here makes exactly the same mistake for which he censures Tyndal.

make hys false heresyes seme the word of God, be not his bokes well worthy to be burned?' To thys question in thys fashion framed, if he wyll aunswere trew englyshe, he maye not aunswere *ye*, but he must aunswere *yes*, and say, 'yes, mary, be they, bothe the translacion and the translatour, and al that wyll holde wyth them.'"

Of this passage it may be said that it represents the permanent growth of the language; there is not a single word in it, that could not still be used; and even if a modern writer might in a few cases choose other words to express the same matter, he would yet be familiar with More's language, for it is the language of the Authorized Version. *Except* might be used instead of *saving*, but *v.* Amos ix. 8; *fit* instead of *mete*, but *v.* 1 Cor. xv. 9; *example* for *ensample*, but *v.* Phil. iii. 17; *but and if* occurs in Mt. xxiv. 48; *be*, not *are*, in a question in Lk. xxii. 52; *which* referring to a personal antecedent is too common to need a parallel, and the inflection *-eth* is invariably used. The order of the words, too, and the structure of the paragraph are almost modern.

With such works in existence as those from which the last three extracts have been made it seems remarkable that Ascham should have spoken of the English language as he does, and have rated so low what had been done in it. But the passage (already quoted, p. 249) in which his views are expressed is written in a style which seems to shew the writer to be rather on the by-path that was to lead to Euphuism, than on the direct road of real progress on which Lord Berners and Tyndall and More were moving. Instead of the simplicity which is found in them, there is in Ascham much of the artificiality that is characteristic of Lyly; e.g. the elaborate balance of antithesis is worked out by both. So the passage from Ascham may serve as an introduction to the second half of the 16th century, in which, as we have seen, there were not a few writers and speakers whose practice might have justified the application to them of words that seem out of place when

they appear to include in their censure the best writers who preceded the date of its publication.

North's *Plutarch.*

18. Of the ephemeral abuses in matter of language which were prevalent in the latter half of the 16th century enough has already been said, and we may now try to illustrate the judicious use, that contributed to real progress, by specimens from two works, each in its own way worthy of note. The first is the translation of Plutarch's *Lives*, made by Sir Thomas North (1579) from the French version of Amyot, and notable as being the source from which Shakspere derived his knowledge of Roman history. The following passage from the life of Coriolanus may shew North's style:

So Martius being a stowte man of nature, that never yelded in any respect, as one thincking that to overcome allwayes, and to have the upper hande in all matters, was a token of magnanimitie, and of no bare and fainte corage, which spitteth out anger from the most weake and passioned parte of the harte, much like the matter of an impostume: went home to his house, full fraighted with spite and malice against the people, being accompanied with all the lustiest young gentlemen, whose mindes were nobly bent, as those that came of noble race, and commonly used for to followe and honour him. But then specially they floct about him, and kept him companie, to his muche harme: for they dyd but kyndle and inflame his choller more and more, being sorie with him for the injurie the people offred him, bicause he was their captaine and leader to the warres, that taught them all marshall discipline, and stirred up in them a noble emulation of honour and valiantnes, and yet without envie, praising them that deserved best.

If the practice of later times may be taken as a test of judicious use, the language of this passage certainly satisfies the test; there is hardly a word in it that is not still current. But while the passage shews that there was abundance of excellent

material at hand, it shews at the same time that among those who had the good taste to use such material, the power to use it skilfully was sometimes wanting. In the next specimen we may see as well the excellence of the material as the skill in its use. The extract that follows is from Sidney's *Apologie for Poetrie* (c. 1581), of which Marsh says, that in style and diction it was the best secular prose yet written in England:

Sidney's *Apologie for Poetrie.*

Certainly I must confesse my own barbarousnes, I neuer heard the olde song of *Percy* and *Duglas*, that I found not my heart mooued more then with a Trumpet: and yet is it sung but by some blinde Crouder, with no rougher voyce, then rude stile: which being so euill apparrelled in the dust and cob-webbes of that unciuill age, what would it worke trymmed in the gorgeous eloquence of *Pindar*? In *Hungary* I haue seene it the manner at all Feasts, and other such meetings, to haue songes of their Auncestours valour; which that right Souldier-like Nation thinck the chiefest kindlers of braue courage. The incomparable *Lacedemonians* did not only carry that kinde of Musicke euer with them to the field, but euen at home, as such songs were made, so were they all content to bee the singers of them, when the lusty men were to tell what they dyd, the olde men what they had done, and the young men what they wold doe. And where a man may say, that *Pindar* many times prayseth highly victories of small moment, matters rather of sport then vertue: as it may be aunswered, it was the fault of the Poet, and not of the Poetry; so indeede, the chiefe fault was in the tyme and custome of the Greekes, who set those toyes at so high a price, that *Phillip* of *Macedon* reckoned a horse-race wonne at *Olimpus* among hys three fearefull felicities. But as the unimitable *Pindar* often did, so is that kinde most capable and most fit, to awake the thoughts from the sleep of idlenes, to imbrace honourable enterprises.

Of this passage we may fairly say that it is worthy of one

who held that 'for the uttering sweetly and properly the conceit of the mind, that English hath equally with any other tongue in the world.' It was written about the time that Lyly was giving the nation a new English, and shews that fortunately there was an old English which might prevent those of true taste from desiring the new, for they could rightly say of it that the old was better.

To give further specimens, taken from the great writers of the Elizabethan age, is unnecessary. The progress of the language up to the point reached in such prose as Sidney's has been slightly illustrated, and the sources from which the vocabulary was drawing fresh material have been pointed out. The student who wishes to realise the position, that had been attained by English at the beginning of the 17th century, must look not merely to brief extracts, but must read the literature in which its powers are shewn by the great masters of language.

CHAPTER XIII.

The language of the early part of the 17th century—classical studies—Burton—his *Anatomy of Melancholy*—Sir Thomas Browne's *Vulgar Errors*—its scientific vocabulary—Milton's *Areopagitica*—its vocabulary—its style—Dryden's *Essay of Dramatic Poesie*—modern in vocabulary and style—writers of the first half of the 18th century—Addison and Swift on words from foreign languages—Johnson and his style—example of Addison's style—Johnson's criticism of it—contrast to it shewn by Johnson's style in the *Rambler*—influence of Johnson on the language of his time—his influence not permanent—English in the 19th century—the earlier history of the language indicated by its present form.

1. From the times of Elizabeth to our own there has been no break in the line of great writers; and their works, considered as literature, might call for a fuller notice than do those of all their predecessors. But while the history of the literature during this period would have to deal with a subject whose noteworthy material was always growing in volume, the history of the language, at least so far as its outlines are concerned, finds less to record than had been the case in earlier times. As regards grammatical forms, hardly any change remains to be noticed; and as regards vocabulary, the admission of new words continues after the same fashion as had prevailed in the latter part of the 16th century. Greater facility, indeed, is gained by the later writers

The language of the early part of the 17th century.

in the management of their material, and the stately and sometimes involved style of the earlier gives place to one which has more freedom and clearness. Detailed examination, e.g. of a play of Shakspere, will of course shew both constructions that are not now usual, and words either not used at all or not used with their present meanings; but most readers of Shakspere are willing to dispense with grammatical notes, and are satisfied with but few references to a dictionary of archaic words. We still to a great extent possess the language of Shakspere. By this it is not meant to be implied that no important changes have been made in the language since 1600. Changes, by modification of old material or acquisition of new, of such magnitude have been going on, that all changes of thought that have taken place since that date have found adequate expression in the language. But when dealing only with the outlines of its history such changes may be more briefly indicated than is the case with some of perhaps less importance in the earlier stages of its development; and again it is to the literature that the student must turn to get a proper appreciation of the subject.

Continuation of classical studies in the 17th century.

2. If classical studies had been prosecuted in the last quarter of the 16th century because of royal example, they were not likely to be discontinued in the first quarter of the 17th for want of similar encouragement from a king, who 'at his departure' from the Bodleian Library 'brake out into that noble speech, If I were not a king, I would be an University man.' And Burton, who quotes this saying, may be appealed to as an instance, which by presenting the case in a somewhat extreme form, may the more easily illustrate the point. How wide was the reading of the author of *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621) may be seen by the endless Latin quotations it contains. The following passage may serve both as a specimen of English written by a scholar, and as an illustration of a scholar's familiarity with Latin:

Burton and *The Anatomy of Melancholy.*

But in the mean time, how doth this concern me, or upon what reference do I usurp (Democritus) his habit? I confesse, indeed, that to compare myself unto him for aught I have yet said, were both impudency and arrogance. I do not presume to make any parallel, *Antistat mihi millibus trecentis, parvus sum, nullus sum, altum nec spiro, nec spero.* Yet thus much I will say of my self, and that I hope without all suspition of pride, or self-conceit, I have lived a silent, sedentary, solitary, private life, *mihi & musis* in the University, as long almost as Xenocrates in Athens, *ad senectam fere* to learn wisdom as he did, penned up most part in my study. For I have been brought up a student in the most flourishing colledge of Europe, *augustissimo collegio*, and can brag with Iovius, almost, *in ea luce domicilii Vaticani, totius orbis celeberrimi, per* 37 *annos multa opportunaque didici*; for 30 years I have continued (having the use of as good Libraries as ever he had) a scholar, and would be therefore loth, either by living as a drone, to be an unprofitable or unworthy Member of so learned and noble a societie, or to write that which should be any way dishonourable to such a royal and ample foundation. Something I have done, though by my profession a Divine, yet *turbine raptus ingenii* out of a running wit, an unconstant, unsettled mind, I had a great desire (not able to attain to a superficial skil in any) to have some smattering in all, to be *aliquis in omnibus, nullus in singulis*, which Plato commends.

It will be noticed that the writer of this passage, though as a scholar in a University he belonged to a class of which Puttenham had complained that its members 'used much peevish affectation of words out of the primative languages,' is certainly not chargeable with this fault of his predecessors. His familiarity with Latin is evident, and he uses many words of Latin origin, but these may fairly come under the head of 'usual and accustomable words,' for they are all in present use.

3. It was not, however, always in so moderate a degree that the influence of classical learning manifested itself; and the following passage from Sir Thomas Browne's *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* (1646) will shew this influence working much more strongly, and at the same time will serve as an early example of a practice, which is familiar to the 19th century—that of employing material derived from the classical languages in the formation of scientific terms. It is from the chapter on the loadstone that the extract is taken:

Sir Thomas Browne's *Vulgar Errors*:

Nor is the vigour of this great body (the earth) included only in itself, or circumferenced by its surface, but diffused at indeterminate distances through the air, water, and all bodies circumjacent; exciting and impregnating magnetical bodies within its surface or without it, and performing, in a secret and invisible way, what we evidently behold effected by the loadstone. For these effluxions penetrate all bodies, and like the species of visible objects are ever ready in the medium, and lay hold on all bodies proportionate or capable of their action; those bodies likewise, being of a congenerous nature, do readily receive the impressions of their motor; and, if not fettered by their gravity, conform themselves to situations wherein they best unite unto their animator. And this will sufficiently appear from the observations that are to follow, which can no better way be found out, than by this we speak of, the magnetical vigour of the earth. Now, whether these effluxions do fly by striated atoms and winding particles, as Renatus des Cartes conceiveth, or glide by streams attracted from either pole and hemisphere of the earth unto the equator, as Sir Kenelm Digby excellently declareth, it takes not away this vigour of the earth; but more distinctly sets down the gests and progress thereof, and are conceits of eminent use to salve magnetical phenomena. And, as in astronomy, those hypotheses (though never so strange) are best esteemed which best do salve appearances, so surely in philosophy those

principles (though seeming monstrous) may with advantage be embraced, which best confirm experiment, and afford the readiest reason of observation.

its scientific terms derived from Greek and Latin.

Large as is the foreign element in the passage, Sir Thomas Browne is hardly more indebted to Latin and Greek than is a writer on scientific subjects to-day; indeed there are very few words in it which might not still be used, and in this sense its language is as modern as that of Burton.

Milton's *Areopagitica*:

4. But for a specimen of English written under the influence of the highest training that the first half of the 17th century could offer it is to a greater than either Burton or Sir T. Browne that we should look—to Milton, who was familiar with foreign languages, both ancient and modern, and who knew the best that had been written in his own and other countries. Within about two years of the publication of the work last quoted he wrote the *Areopagitica* (1644), and from it the following extract is taken:

When a man writes to the world, he summons up all his reason and deliberation to assist him, he searches, meditats, is industrious, and likely consults and conferrs with his judicious friends; after all which done he takes himself to be inform'd in what he writes, as well as any that writ before him; if in this the most consummat act of his fidelity and ripenesse, no years, no industry, no former proof of his abilities can bring him to that state of maturity, as not to be still mis-trusted and suspected, unlesse he carry all his considerat diligence, all his midnight watchings, and expence of Palladian oyl, to the hasty view of an unlearne'd licencer, perhaps much his younger, perhaps far his inferiour in judgement, perhaps one who never knew the labour of book-writing, and if he be not repulst, or slighted, must appear in Print like a punie with his guardian, and his censor's hand on the back of his title to be his bayl and surety, that he is no idiot, or seducer, it cannot be but a dishonour and derogation to the author, to

the book, to the priviledge and dignity of Learning. And what if the author shall be one so copious of fancie, as to have many things well worth the adding, come into his mind after licencing, while the book is yet under the Presse, which not seldom happ'ns to the best and diligentest writers. The Printer dares not go beyond his licenc't copy; so often then must the author trudge to his leavgiver, that those his new insertions may be viewd; and many a jaunt will be made, ere that licencer, for it must be the same man, can either be found, or found at leisure; mean while either the Presse must stand still, which is no small damage, or the author loose his accuratest thoughts, and send the book forth wors then he had made it, which to a diligent writer is the greatest melancholy and vexation that can befall.

All the material of this passage is still used, but not all of it has the same force now as it has in the passage.

its vocabulary; Several of the words illustrate a point that has to be borne in mind by a reader of the older literature, viz. that a foreign word on its first introduction is used with the sense that belongs to it in the language from which it is taken, but on becoming naturalized it will change according to the will of those who speak the language in which it is incorporated. For instance, we still use *consummate*, *considerate*, *expense*, *puny*, *idiot*, *copious*, but we should hardly use them in the same way that Milton does.

5. It is not, however, so much by its vocabulary that the passage is marked off from modern English, as

its style. by its structure; it is not the material that is used, but the fabric that is constructed with it, that associates Milton rather with his great predecessors than with those who followed him. With his majestic prose seems to end the period which precedes that of modern English. To an age which was saturated with the language of the Bible, and elevated by the greatness of the issues which, whether in religious or political matters, were of vital concern to it, succeeded one

which recoiled from the earnestness of its predecessor, and the changed conditions were reflected in the language. The contrast between the first and second half of the 17th century may be brought out by comparing the prose of Milton with that of Dryden, from whose *Essay of Dramatic Poesie* the following passage is taken:

Dryden's *Essay of Dramatic Poesie*:

As for Jonson, if we look upon him while he was himself, I think him the most learned and judicious writer which any theatre ever had. He was a most severe judge of himself as well as others. One cannot say he wanted wit, but rather that he was frugal of it. In his works you find little to retrench or alter. Wit and language, and humour also in some measure, we had before him; but something of art was wanting to the drama till he came. He managed his strength to more advantage than any who preceded him. You seldom find him making love in any of his scenes, or endeavouring to move the passions; his genius was too sullen and saturnine to do it gracefully, especially when he knew he came after those who had performed both to such an height. Humour was his proper sphere; and in that he delighted most to represent mechanic people. He was deeply conversant in the ancients, both Greek and Latin, and he borrowed boldly from them: there is scarce a poet or historian among the Roman authors of those times whom he has not translated in *Sejanus* and *Catiline*. But he has done his robberies so openly that one may see he fears not to be taxed by any law. He invades authors like a monarch, and what would be theft in other poets is only victory in him. If there was any fault in his language, 'twas that he weaved it too closely and laboriously, in his comedies especially; perhaps, too, he did a little too much Romanise our tongue, leaving the words which he translated almost as much Latin as he found them: wherein, though he learnedly followed their language, he did not enough comply with the idiom of ours.

modern in vocabulary and style.

This passage is modern, not only because the words in it are still used, and used, too, with trifling exceptions, as we use them, but because it is constructed as it might now be constructed. The passage from Milton, whatever changes might be made in its vocabulary, could not possibly be mistaken for a product of the 19th century, while with a very few verbal alterations the specimen of Dryden might be made to pass for good modern English. With the appearance of Dryden the old order gives place to new.

Writers of the first half of the 18th century—

6. The great writers of the first half of the 18th century followed the example set by Dryden; and to the works of Addison, Oxford scholar and traveller in Italy, or to those of Swift, champion of the ancients against the moderns, we may still turn for models of good English. But we are not confined within the limits which their taste would have fixed.

Addison and Swift on foreign words in English.

As a result of the wars in the Low Countries foreign words were coming into use in England, to many of which, as we have seen[1], objection was taken by Addison, as had been done by writers of the 16th century to the foreign words then introduced. The vocabulary of science was extending in the direction which the extract from Sir T. Browne seemed to point out, and against many of its terms Swift protested[2]. But such objections and protests were unavailing, and the number of words alike from ancient and from modern languages steadily increased; indeed by the remarkable influence of one man for a time the language of literature in the 18th century was diverted from the course of simplicity, which under the guidance of such writers as Addison and Swift it had followed, and was brought under the domination of the classical tongues.

Johnson and his style.

Johnson, whose weakness was 'to make little fishes talk like whales,' became 'the great Cham

[1] *v.* p. 4. [2] *Ibid.*

of literature'; his style to a great extent became a model for his contemporaries, and in the 18th century the language was almost as much in danger from the new English of Johnson, as in the 16th it had been from that of Lyly. Fortunately in both cases it was the old English that survived, and that in the later case, as in the earlier, we may justly say 'the old is better' will appear on a comparison of two extracts from the *Spectator* and the *Rambler* respectively:

The *Spectator*.

I may cast my readers under two general divisions, the Mercurial and the Saturnine. The first are the gay part of my disciples, who require speculations of wit and humour, the others are those of a more solemn and sober turn, who find no pleasure but in papers of morality and sound sense. The former call everything that is serious, stupid; the latter look upon everything as impertinent that is ludicrous. Were I always grave, one half of my readers would fall off from me: were I always merry, I should lose the other. I make it therefore my endeavour to find out entertainments of both kinds, and by that means perhaps consult the good of both, more than I should do, did I always write to the particular taste of either. As they neither of them know what I proceed upon, the sprightly reader, who takes up my paper in order to be diverted, very often finds himself unawares in a serious and profitable course of thinking; as on the contrary, the thoughtful man, who perhaps may hope to find something solid, and full of deep reflection, is very often insensibly betrayed into a fit of mirth. In a word, the reader sits down to my entertainment without knowing his bill of fare, and has therefore at least the pleasure of hoping there may be a dish to his palate.

I must confess, were I left to myself, I should rather aim at instructing than diverting; but if we will be useful to the world, we must take it as we find it. Authors of professed severity discourage the looser part of mankind from having anything to do with their writings. The very title of a moral

treatise has something in it austere and shocking to the careless and inconsiderate. *Spectator*, No. CLXXIX.

Johnson's criticism of Addison's style.

7. In his criticism of Addison Johnson says: 'His prose is the model of the middle style; on grave subjects not formal, on light occasions not grovelling, pure without scrupulosity, and exact without apparent elaboration; always equable, and always easy, without glowing words or pointed sentences. Addison never deviates from his track to snatch a grace; he seeks no ambitious ornaments, and tries no hazardous innovations. His page is always luminous, but never blazes in unexpected splendour. It was apparently his principal endeavour to avoid all harshness and severity of diction; he therefore sometimes descends too much to the language of conversation; yet if his language had been less idiomatic, it might have lost somewhat of its genuine Anglicism. Whoever wishes to attain an English style, familiar but not coarse, and elegant but not ostentatious, must give his days and nights to the volumes of Addison.'

How far Johnson was from making the prose of Addison the model for his own might be illustrated by this quotation; but the difference between the two styles becomes more striking when they are compared in works so similar in character as are the *Spectator* and the *Rambler*[1]. Compare, for example, the following extract from the last number of the latter with that already given from the former:

The *Rambler*.

Whatever shall be the final sentence of mankind, I have at least endeavoured to deserve their kindness. I have laboured to refine our language to grammatical purity, and to clear it from colloquial barbarisms, licentious idioms, and irregular combinations. Something, perhaps, I have added to the elegance of its construction, and

[1] When Dr Burney, after reading Johnson's remarks on Addison's style, could not help observing, 'that it had not been his own model,' the reply he received from Johnson was, 'Sir, Addison had his style, and I have mine.'

something to the harmony of its cadence. When common words were less pleasing to the ear, or less distinct in their signification, I have familiarized the terms of philosophy, by applying them to popular ideas, but have rarely admitted any word not authorized by former writers; for I believe that whoever knows the English tongue in its present extent, will be able to express his thoughts without further help from other nations.

As it has been my principal design to inculcate wisdom or piety, I have allotted few papers to the idle sports of imagination. Some, perhaps, may be found, of which the highest excellence is harmless merriment; but scarcely any man is so steadily serious as not to complain, that the severity of dictatorial instruction has been too seldom relieved, and that he is driven by the sternness of the *Rambler's* philosophy to more cheery and airy companions.

In the pictures of life I have never been so studious of novelty or surprise, as to depart wholly from all resemblance; a fault which writers deservedly celebrated frequently commit, that they may raise, as the occasion requires, either mirth or abhorrence. Some enlargement may be allowed to declamation, and some exaggeration to burlesque; but as they deviate farther from reality, they become less useful, because their lessons will fail of application.

The essays professedly serious, if I have been able to execute my own intentions, will be found exactly conformable to the precepts of Christianity, without any accommodation to the licentiousness and levity of the present age. I therefore look back on this part of my work with pleasure, which no blame or praise of man shall diminish or augment.

8. If the style of Johnson had remained peculiar to himself, there would have been hardly more reason to dwell upon it in considering the history of the language in the 18th century, than to dwell upon that of Carlyle in con-

Influence of Johnson on the language of his time.

nection with Victorian English. But a writer of whom that could be said which Boswell said of Johnson, that 'such is the melody of his periods, so much do they captivate the ear, and seize upon the attention, that there is scarcely any writer[1], however inconsiderable, who does not aim, in some degree, at the same species of excellence,' becomes a factor, that, when the history of the language is to be traced merely in outline, needs to be taken into account.

His influence not permanent.

It was, however, with the 'great Cham' of literature as with Cromwell. Though each died in the possession of power, yet it was given to neither to be the founder of a line that should maintain the new order he had introduced. The death of each was soon followed by a return to the old order; the 19th century abandoned 'Johnsonese,' for when all were reading the *Waverley Novels* with delight, few could maintain their allegiance to the style of the *Rambler*; and in Victorian English there remains hardly more trace of it than there is of Euphuism in the language of Dryden.

English in the 19th century.

9. In the 19th century not only has there been no parallel to Johnson, but there have been no influences at work upon the language that have produced effects so strikingly apparent as has been the case in the earlier centuries. During the last hundred years the capabilities of the language have been proved by great writers in every department of thought, but the best that has been written at any one time of the period is in no case in strong contrast with the best that has been written at any other. None the less has the language developed. To such changes in external conditions as have come with the use of steam and

[1] For the effect on an originally simple style of Johnson's influence, in the case of a writer whose intercourse with him gave excellent opportunity for its exercise, the student may be referred to the quotations from Madame D'Arblay's works, given by Macaulay near the end of his essay on that favourite of Dr Johnson.

electricity, to such changes in thought as increased scientific knowledge has brought with it, and to many other changes in the inner and outer life of its speakers, the language has adapted itself; but it will be enough to remind the student that from his familiarity with modern conditions and with modern English he must not overlook the influence which the former have exerted upon the latter. And if the healthy growth of the 19th century has sometimes seemed endangered, if the fine writing of the everywhere diffused newspaper, which seems the modern form of the disease of Euphuism, has at times threatened corruption, there have been the examples of great writers to act as preservatives. On the whole the language has had a life of peaceful progress, with no striking events to record, and its history is to be read in the great works of those who have used it.

The earlier history of the language indicated by its present form.

10. And, as the preceding pages have tried to shew, the student who turns to the modern literature to read in it the last chapter in the history of the language may find as well a summary of all that has gone before. For modern English is the result of the accumulations made by a long succession of speakers, who worked upon the material they inherited from their predecessors, and acquired for themselves fresh material. Each change in the internal or external life of the speakers helped to mould their speech; and it is with the change that transferred to this country the inheritance from many generations, that the story of the moulding of English in England begins. Since then Englishmen have been in turn the conquerors and the conquered in the country, and of their struggles the language still bears the marks. From their own they have spread to every country under heaven, and their course may be traced by the words they have adopted from those with whom they have come into friendly or hostile contact. Even on the unreal world of fiction they have levied contributions, and *Lilliputian* is as real as *cannibal*, and *Quixotic*

as *Machiavellian*. They have been versed in the great literatures of all times and countries, and from the languages in which these are written they have drawn supplies. And to the shaping of this accumulating material have been directed the efforts of great writers in every department of literature, who have striven to give fit expression to their thoughts. Through countless ages others have laboured, and into their labours we who to-day use English have entered. Of those labours the language still bears the marks; but if the significance of those marks is to be recognised, or the labours to which they witness are to be appreciated, we must have some knowledge of the earlier history of our language. To help the student in gaining such a knowledge is the object of these *Outlines*.

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